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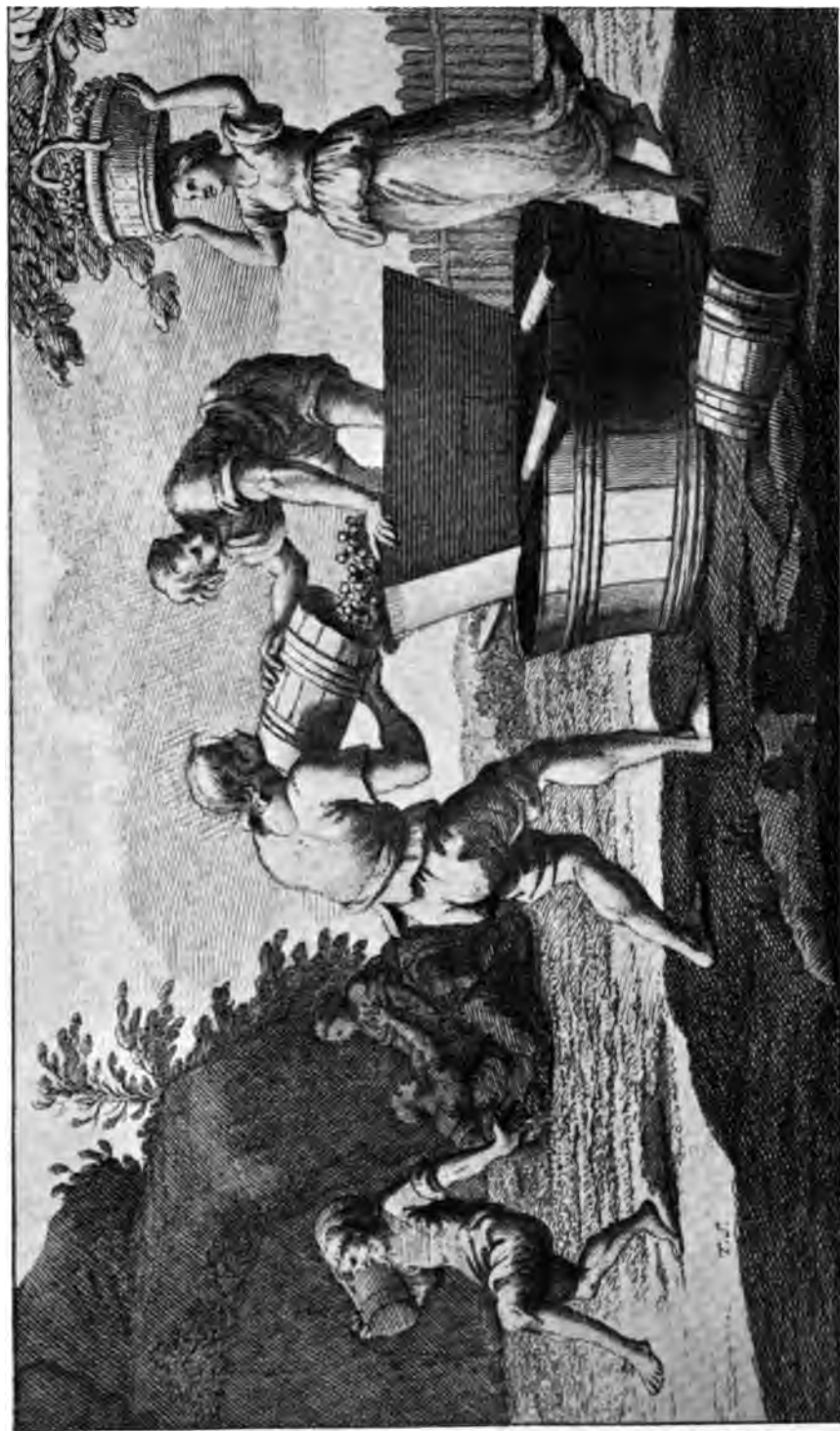
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The History
of the Wine Trade
in England.



Vol. II.

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THE VINTAGE. WHITE WINE MAKING.

**THE HISTORY OF THE
WINE TRADE
IN ENGLAND**

BY
ANDRÉ L. SIMON, F.R. Hist. S.

AUTHOR OF
"THE HISTORY OF THE CHAMPAGNE TRADE
IN ENGLAND."

VOLUME II.
THE PROGRESS OF THE WINE TRADE IN ENGLAND
DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

LONDON:
WYMAN & SONS, LTD.
1907.

THIS WORK
is dedicated to
THE CAUSE OF TEMPERANCE,

IN NO SPIRIT OF IRONY, BUT WITH FEELINGS OF DEEP
CONVICTION THAT A BETTER KNOWLEDGE OF THE
HISTORY OF WINE IN THIS COUNTRY WOULD
PROMOTE AMONGST THE PUBLIC A GREATER
APPRECIATION OF THE VIRTUES OF
WINE, THE MORE GENERAL USE OF
WHICH WOULD HELP TO CHECK
BOTH DRUNKENNESS AND
TEETOTALISM, EVILS WHICH
EVERY FAIR-MINDED
AND TEMPERATE MAN
CANNOT HELP
DEPLORING.

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PREFACE.

THE spirit in which this work was conceived, and the aim I had in view when I undertook it, have been sufficiently explained in the first volume, published last autumn, and need not be repeated here.

This second volume has been written on the same plan as the preceding one, and most of the facts it contains have been obtained from the same sources, such as the *Patent Rolls*, the *Calendars of State Papers*, the *Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, etc. Much interesting information, for the most part unpublished, has also been found in the manuscript *Letter Books* of the City of London.

The share given in the first volume to the political events which affected the course of commerce in this country has been considerably reduced in the present volume, whilst much more space has been devoted to facts and figures about the different wines imported into England. All Latin and French texts have been omitted and the number of footnotes has also been greatly reduced, whilst a few illustrations have been added in order to render this volume more attractive than the preceding one. Being, however, a work of reference, an important list of prices of wine and a few charters and ordinances, in English, have been printed at the end of the book.

67-5-49

My thanks are due to Mr. A. S. Gardiner for reading my proofs over, and I am also greatly indebted to the Corporation of the City of London, for allowing me to search their valuable Records, and to Dr. R. R. Sharpe, whose learning and courtesy have been of great help to me.

A. L. S.

24, MARK LANE, E.C.,
May, 1907.

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CHAPTER I.

THE rule of the Lancastrian and Yorkist Princes, productive, as it was, of long and expensive foreign wars, in the first instance, and, as soon as these were ended, of the still more wasteful calamity of domestic discord, bloodshed and confusion, proved very detrimental to the interests of the national industry and commerce.

The little care bestowed by Richard II. upon the maritime defences of the kingdom not only alienated from his cause the commercial classes, but ultimately cost him his crown and his liberty, since a small fleet might easily have prevented the landing of Henry of Bolingbroke.* The usurper, who was hailed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Parliament which met in October, 1399, as a "wise and discreet man, whom God Almighty, of His grace and mercy, had chosen to govern England, protect the coasts and redress abuses,"† found himself in a very critical position; obliged to court popularity, he dared not inaugurate his reign by the imposition of new taxes, although he had no other means of providing for the safety of the realm. The King of France refused to acknowledge him, and threatened to invade England, alleging that the truce concluded

* Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I., p. 610.

† Rot. Parl., Vol. III., p. 415.

with Richard II. had been broken by those who deposed him. This threat was never carried into effect, but the truce which had been sworn between the Kings of France and England, though not denounced, subsisted only in name. Both monarchs pretended to forbid the belligerent proceedings of their subjects, but they secretly approved if they did not encourage them; the ships and the shores of the two countries were continually attacked, the people plundered, prisoners taken, vessels captured, and maritime commerce entirely paralysed.

The Comte de St. Pol and other French noblemen committed the most daring outrages upon the English, who were not slow in retaliating. Acts of piracy and rapine became so common that the seas were no longer safe, and the carrying out of all legitimate foreign trade became almost an impossibility.*

Such a state of things caused so great a prejudice to the commerce and well-being of the nation, and was the occasion of such continual and bitter complaints by injured or ruined subjects, that the King's desire to remedy these crying evils must have been as sincere as it was difficult to carry into effect.

Henry IV. and his immediate successors tried a variety of expedients for giving protection to English shipping and to the English coasts; their efforts, however, were never productive of much good on account of the slender means at their disposal, the greater part of the public revenue being spent in the upkeep of the numerous soldiery necessary for the foreign and civil wars of the new dynasty.†

* Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV., edited by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston. 1860. Vol. 1., Introduction.

† See Cunningham, Growth of English Industry and Commerce, Early and Middle Ages.

A great Council met on February 9th, 1400, to consider the state of affairs. With a very commendable generosity, each of the spiritual lords agreed that a tenth should be levied upon his property, whilst some of the most wealthy temporal lords undertook each to find a ship with twenty men at arms and forty archers besides the crew.*

Most of the seaports also contributed to the Royal Navy by placing under the command of one of the Royal Admirals their available ships, barges, and balingers, manned and armed by their compatriots, and under the immediate control of the owner of each vessel or his "master."

To stimulate the zeal of the inhabitants of the principal seaports, Henry often gave them authority to retain for their own use whatever they might capture from the enemy.†

This permission soon became to be interpreted as equivalent to *lettres de marque*, and those vessels which had been equipped solely for the defence of the realm, became privateers scouring the Channel in search of prey. Many a wine-laden vessel was thus captured, in spite of safe-conducts granted by Henry, and their cargoes seized even when it could be proved that they belonged to English merchants. Complaints of such arbitrary seizures were frequently made to the King and his Council, especially by neutrals or allies, Flemings, Bretons, Portuguese or Venetians. The injured merchants usually obtained a royal mandate directing that the offenders should give them full satisfaction, but it is doubtful whether they were often in a position to exact it.

* Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council. Vol. I. pp. 103, 104.

† Rot. Claus., 1 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 6.

In 1399, for instance, a mandate was sent to the Mayor of Kingston-upon-Hull to deliver to William Pietru, a merchant of Brittany, a barge laden with eighty-five pipes of wine and twelve dozen lampreys which he had freighted in the Port of Nantes, in Brittany, to take to the Port of Lescluse, in Flanders, and which, when sailing at sea, was seized and taken to Kingston-upon-Hull.*

On June 27th, 1402, it was agreed between the Kings of France and England to renew the truce; it was then emphatically declared that all persons, vessels and property should be mutually and freely restored, that merchants and others might go about their business in either kingdom without any hindrance and without needing letters of safe conduct, and that, for the safety of navigation, all armed vessels should be called into port.† These stipulations for the freedom of trade were also entered into with Castile, Portugal and Flanders, but the mere fact of the frequency with which they were renewed‡ is a sufficient proof of their inefficiency.

The following month, in July, 1402, a Prussian vessel laden with wine was captured by some English mariners.§ as stated in a complaint of the Aldermen of the Hanse merchants.

In that same year, a vessel bound for Flanders, with 61 tuns and 5 pipes of Rochelle wine, was seized by some English ships, in spite of the renewed truce; at about the same time, two other ships bound for

* Calend. Patent Rolls, Rotulus Viagii, 1 Hen. IV., m. 36.

† Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I., p. 613.

‡ *Federa*, Vol. VIII., pp. 312, 327, 329.

§ Syllabus to Rymer's *Federa*, p. 545.

Sluys and Skidam with 136 tuns of Rochelle wine were also captured off the Isle of Wight.*

On December 13th, 1402, the King ordered the restitution of a barge laden with wine belonging to Cherbourg which had been captured by one William Prince, captain of the Earl of Arundel.†

In March, 1403, 89 tuns of Poitou wine belonging to some merchants of Flanders were illegally captured by mariners of Rye, who also took possession, on April 7th of that year, of 49 tuns and 1 pipe of Rochelle wine belonging to some other Flemish merchants.‡

During that same year, the barge called *Seint John de San Sebastian*, Domingo de Lugades, master, and the *Seinte Kateline de Vermew*, John Garcy, master, both laden with wine and other merchandise, were captured by English mariners.§ The *Seinte Anne de Guerraund*, laden at Rochelle with wines, in the name and to the use of some London merchants, had a similar fate.||

A ship which was conveying the wines of another London merchant to Athenry, in Connaught, was at about the same time seized by men of Galway.¶

In 1403, the *Seint Marie*, of the Port of Portugal (Oporto), a vessel belonging to one Dominic Gunsaldus, having reached Southampton in safety and unloaded her cargo, was chartered to convey 42 tuns of Gascon wine to London; on her way thither she was attacked by "four balingers, full of

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 4 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 7d.

† Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 546.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 4 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 18d.

§ *Idem*, m. 31d.

|| *Idem*, m. 30d.

¶ *Idem*, Part I., m. 6

English people from Goseford, Harewych and other ports near Dover, and taken by them into Harewych.”*

Earlier that year, some other Portuguese merchants had a remarkable experience. They left Lisbon for England in their ship called *La Katherine*, laden with 74 tuns of divers wines, a pipe of olive oil and other merchandise. In the Channel, they fell into the hands of some Norman mariners who were themselves attacked and routed near Falmouth by lieges of the King of England, men of Greenwich, Shrewsbury and Southampton. To the consternation of the unfortunate Portuguese merchants, their ship was taken to Southampton, where it was kept as a prize by their “rescuers,” together with the wines and merchandise therein.†

An esquire, called William Wilford, who commanded some ships belonging to the Western ports, distinguished himself in this profitable if little creditable kind of warfare; in 1403, he captured on one occasion 40 vessels laden with a thousand tuns of wine and other goods, on the coast of Brittany, and burnt 40 more ships on his passage home.‡

It is indeed remarkable that the wine trade between Bordeaux, Rochelle, Nantes and England should have been still in existence in those troubled times, in spite of the enormous risks to life and property which had to be incurred by merchants and mariners who engaged in it. Even when he had succeeded in avoiding or repulsing the attacks of freebooters on the high seas, the foreign vintner was not sure to find security and protection on

* Calend. Patent Rolls. 4 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 18d.

† *Idem*, m. 29d.

‡ Walsingham, p. 412, in Nicolas, Hist. of the Royal Navy, Vol. II., p. 356.

reaching an English port. Thus, in the autumn of 1403, some merchants of Bordeaux, having laden a barge with 79 tuns of white wine of La Rochelle to be taken to Weymouth and sold there and at Melcombe, they had safely reached port when one John Kygheley and other "evil-doers" forcibly entered their barge and carried it off with the said wine and other merchandise.*

And yet, in spite of all such outrages, foreigners still came to England with their wines, and English merchants regularly sailed to Gascony in the autumn to fetch those of the new vintage. Official documents contain many proofs of the activity of the wine trade; there are, on the one hand, numerous records of individuals, aliens† and natives alike, who sought and obtained licences and safe-conducts to import wine into England, or to convey it from one English port to another, whilst, on the other hand, many of the regulations concerning the English fleets of merchantmen going to Bordeaux have been preserved to this day.

In the autumn of 1403, for instance, two expeditions to Gascony are recorded. The first one sailed in November and returned soon afterwards, having made a very successful voyage, not only purchasing much wine at Bordeaux, but also bringing back many vessels captured there, laden with wine destined for the ports of Normandy.‡

Soon after the return of that first wine-fleet from Gascony, on December 26th, 1403, it was decided

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 5 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 34d.

† Jacopo Doria, of Genoa, was granted a licence to bring wines from Bordeaux to Southampton, Rot. Vasc., 3 Hen. IV., m. 1, A.D. 1402, etc.

‡ Chronique de St. Denis, Vol. III., pp. 112, 113. Des Ursins, p. 157. Cf. Nicolas, History of the Royal Navy, Vol. II., p. 356.

by the King in Council that commands should be sent to Lord Berkeley, Admiral in the South and West, to Sir William Faringdon, to John Hanley, and to the other owners and masters of ships and vessels at Dartmouth, Plymouth, and other ports, to fit out a sufficient number of vessels, armed with soldiers and archers, to proceed to Bordeaux for wine, and to return as soon as possible to England, taking care, however, to leave the best ships and barges in the home ports for the King's service.*

The insecurity of the sea† and the enormous losses suffered as well as inflicted by Englishmen were, however, causing considerable prejudice to the wine trade and proved how ineffectual were Henry's orders and efforts to put down piracy.

The traders and shipowners of the principal English seaports approached the King's Council, in 1405, with a view to be granted certain customs, and in return they promised to undertake the guard of the sea, to assure the safety of the coasts and of the nation's maritime commerce. When Parliament met, on March 1st, 1406, the subject was brought under its consideration: but as the business could not then be settled on account of the difficulty of arranging the conditions, and because Parliament would soon be dissolved, the King, at the request of the Commons, appointed six of their number to treat with the Council and to conclude the affair.

The whole proceeding forms one of the most

* Proceedings of the Privy Council, Vol. II., p. 81.

† Again, in 1404, seizures of isolated merchant ships had taken place. (*See* Calend. Patent Rolls, 6 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 19d.) Otterbourne also reports that the Earl

of Somerset, Captain of Calais, captured on one occasion seventeen ships laden with wine. (*Otterbourne*, p. 248. *See* Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, Vol. II., p. 368.

remarkable events in the commercial history of this country. The merchants, mariners and shipowners of England offered to exert their "loyal power" for the safeguard of the sea, against all enemies, from May 1st, 1406, until September 29th, 1407, with as many ships, barges and balingers as might be necessary; they were to maintain two thousand fighting men, besides mariners.

It was agreed that the merchants and shipowners should be paid twelve pence in the pound, and three shillings for every tun of wine, as well as the fourth part of the subsidy of wools, wool-fells, and hides that had been granted in the last Parliament. Then came a clause which was destined to wreck the whole scheme: it was decreed that the said merchants and shipowners should retain whatever they might capture from the enemy in war, notwithstanding any privilege or prerogative of the King, his admirals, or others; that all booty or prize money should be distributed among them in the usual manner, provided, however, that the King should have all chieftains that might be taken, his Majesty paying the captors a reasonable reward for them. Furthermore, the merchants requested the ready payment of £4,000 as a gift and "reward," in consequence of the great power and hostility of the enemy, which was daily increasing at sea, but the King informed them that there were no means of satisfying their last wish.*

This delegation of the royal authority and national dignity to a number of men in whom private interests and the greed of lucre were bound to

* Rot. Parl., Vol. III. pp. 569-571, and Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, Vo' II., p. 383 *et seq.*

predominate, was, as might have been expected, a complete failure.

Although the experiment only lasted about six months, the merchants in charge of the police of the sea inflicted serious losses on the home and foreign maritime shipping. On one occasion, they captured fifteen ships laden with wine and wax, but the chronicler adds that the price of wine in England was in nowise affected by such captures, as the merchants only disposed of the wax and kept the wine to their own ends.*

On October 20th, 1406, in consequence of the repeated complaints of his subjects and allies that the sea had not been well kept by the merchants, but that robberies and aggressions had been committed, and were likely to be continued, Henry directed the collectors of the subsidies which had been assigned to the merchants not to make any further payments to them.†

On December 23rd, the Earl of Somerset was appointed Admiral of England, and the commissions granted to merchant mariners were cancelled.

In 1409, an attempt appears to have been made to settle definitely the numerous claims preferred by English merchants against foreigners and by these against English mariners for wine and other goods captured at sea. It was then evidently recognised by the commissioners appointed by both parties

* *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blancforde, Chronica*, p. 419, "Mercatores, hoc tempore, deputati ad maris custodiam, ceperunt naves quindecim onustas vino et cera. Qua propter, cera de meliori foro veniebatur; sed nihil de vini pretio minuebatur, potenti- bus illud rapientibus ad usos suos."

† *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. VIII., pp. 437, 439, 449-455. *Cotton's Abridgement*, p. 452. *Macpherson, Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I., p. 616. *Nicolas, History of the Royal Navy*, Vol. II., p. 393.

that the English had been the principal offenders, since Henry agreed to pay above 30,000 English nobles to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, who was let off on the payment of only 766 nobles to the English sufferers.*

New treaties were again concluded with the Hanse towns, Castile, Portugal, Flanders, Brittany and other powers, on the basis of mutual freedom of trade and oblivion of past injuries. In case of any future outrages, the respective sovereigns bound themselves to make satisfaction for the aggressions of their subjects.†

In the following year a truce, embodying the same principles, was proclaimed between the Kings of France and England. It was particularly stipulated that all English merchants could go in safety to Rochelle for wine, and that all Rochelle merchants would be likewise at liberty to come to England to sell their wine.‡

Henry V. began his reign by giving evidence of his disposition to favour and encourage commerce. He not only confirmed, on his accession to the throne, the privileges granted by his father and preceding kings to foreign merchants, but he determined to repress the piratical proceedings which had so long disgraced most maritime countries, and particularly England, without stipulating that other governments should do the same, "being satisfied with setting an example of humanity and justice to the nations of Europe"—an enlightened policy far in

* Craik, *History of British Commerce*, Vol. I., p. 160.

† Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I., p. 623.

‡ Rot. Parl., 1410, 11 Hen. IV., Vol. III., p. 643, col. 2.

advance of his time, which was to bear fruit in the near future.

Parliament met in May, 1413, and some merchants of Dartmouth and other places, owners of eight ships, stated that those vessels had been impressed at Bordeaux by the Duke of Clarence, lieutenant of Guienne, to bring some of his soldiers to England; that he appointed Sir John Colville *governor and captain* for the voyage; that, when they reached Belle Isle, they fell in with two hulks of Prussia, laden with wine, coming from Rochelle; and, being desirous of ascertaining whether those hulks and their cargoes belonged to the enemy, Colville sent a boat with one of his esquires and the masters of two of his ships to examine their bills of lading; * these men were killed by the Prussians, whose hulks were then captured and brought to Southampton and Poole. Other complaints and claims were preferred, and the Chancellor deplored that so many infractions of the late truces should have been committed on the high seas, in the ports and on the coasts of the realm, whereby many persons who were protected by the truces, and others who had safe-conducts, had been killed, or robbed and pillaged, to the great dishonour and scandal of the King, and against his dignity, etc. It was therefore enacted that such proceedings should be considered high treason, that a conservator of the truce should be appointed in each port, to enquire into those offences, and to punish the parties, and that two lawyers should be joined in all commissions issued to that officer. Masters of ships, balingers and other vessels, were to swear before the conservator, previous to sailing, that they would

* "Chartres de leur affrettemenz." Rot. Parl., Vol. IV., p. 12, 13.

observe the truces, and that, if they captured any vessel, they would bring it into their port, and then make a full report to him before the goods were sold.*

The prosperity which had been springing up during the several years of peace which mark a breathing time between the struggles of Henry IV. at home, and the military exploits of his son, abroad, was of but short duration.

It was the dying injunction of Henry IV. to his son "not to allow the English to remain long in peace, which was apt to breed intestine commotions, but to employ them in foreign expeditions, by which the prince might acquire honour, and all the restless spirits find occupation for their inquietude."

In 1415, acting upon his father's advice, Henry V. invaded France, where he died in 1422, after having covered himself with glory at an enormous cost of men and treasure.

"The misgovernment and political misfortunes of the greater part of the reign of Henry VI. probably did not oppress and injure the commerce of the kingdom nearly so much as the successful wars of his great father, which, by the very intoxication they produced in the public mind, dried up the spirit of mercantile industry and enterprise, and carried off the whole current of the national feelings and energies in an opposite direction."†

Of all branches of commerce, the wine trade alone retained some of its former importance during the commercial crisis which characterised the reign of Henry V.

* Stat. 2 Hen. V., cap. 6. Rot. Parl., Vol. III., p. 23. Nicolas, History of the Royal Navy, Vol. II., pp. 405-406.

† Craik, History of British Commerce, Vol. I., p. 166.

However scarce other commodities might be, wine was to be had at moderate prices in London and at most of the larger seaports. Every ship or barge was wanted by the King for the transport of his armies and the considerable stores he stood in need of during his conquest of Normandy ; but at no time were the merchant-vintners ever prevented from going over sea to fetch wine. Orders, however, were given that no vessels should proceed singly to Bordeaux, but with a sufficient number of others to defend themselves, as many armed vessels of the enemy were at sea to intercept ships going to Guienne for the vintage.*

These fleets of merchantmen were under the command of an admiral of their own choosing, whom all agreed to obey during the voyage.

Thus, in 1416, a ship called the *Christopher*, of Hull, laden with 240 tuns of wine, was lying at Bordeaux and about to return home, when, by election of all the merchants, masters and mariners of England there, the said *Christopher* was chosen to be one of the admirals of all the fleet, on the voyage to England, for the security and protection of the whole fleet, at the time of which election the chief merchants, masters and mariners swore before the Constable of Bordeaux, according to the ancient custom at all times used, that they would not depart from their admiral until they arrived in England. On their passage, the fleet met some carracks which attacked the *Christopher* when, instead of supporting their admiral, all her companions ran away, and that vessel was consequently taken. The owners therefore represented that the capture of their ship was

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. IX., p. 47. August 26th, 1413.

ruinous to them and disgraceful to the whole Navy of England,* and prayed that the owners of the other ships might be made responsible to them for her value. The King commanded that all who were present in that fleet should be summoned before the Chancellor, who was to take such measures as he might think fit, with the advice of three or four of the judges, and power was given them, not only to compel these cowardly merchants and masters to make good the losses of the petitioners—but to punish them by imprisonment.†

The efforts of Henry V. to put down piracy and to protect neutrals at sea were not altogether successful, since, during that same year, 1416, merchants of Dartmouth and of Bristol also complained of the losses they had sustained at the hands of the Bretons, who, they said, had captured their ships and their wines in spite of the truce.‡

A few years later, in 1423, Brittany merchants petitioned the Council, complaining that one of their ships which they had freighted at Lisbon with fruit, wax and bastard wine, had been seized on November 1st, 1422, by some men of Southampton, Plymouth and Bridgewater.§

On February 22nd, 1423, two balingers and one barge of Fowey and Plymouth captured another Breton merchant vessel, with a cargo of 100 pipes of wines of Nantes and Orleans, on her way to Pontbulemer, near St. Pol de Leon.|| Again, in 1424, a

* "A graunt anientisement des ditz suppliantz et velany à tout la Naveye d'Engleterre."

† Rot. Parl., Vol. IV., p. 86. Nicolas, History of the Royal Navy, Vol. II., p. 415.

‡ *Idem*, p. 89. Nicolas, History

of the Royal Navy, Vol. II., p. 416.

§ Calend. Patent Rolls, 2 Hen. VI., Part III., m. 10d. July 11th. 1424.

|| *Idem*, 1 Hen. VI., Part IV., m. 12d.

ship of Brittany with a cargo of Rochelle wines, was seized by some Englishmen, on her way to England, and the wine sold by the captors.*

One of the most extraordinary complaints of this kind occurred in 1425. Some of the King's French subjects stated that the Abbot of St. Augustine, Canterbury, with a fellow monk, called Belle, and other "malefactors, arrayed in manner of war," arrested a certain ship loaded with wines of Poitou to the number of 96 tuns and one pipe and other merchandise, which ship touched at the Abbot's island of Thanet, in the County of Kent, on Conception Day. The Abbot claimed that the ship and goods belonged to Spanish enemies of the King, although such was not the case. The said "malefactors" took out and carried away 74 tuns and one pipe of the wine and still detained under arrest the ship and the rest of the cargo.†

Another remarkable instance of a seizure of wine took place in London itself on January 5th, 1427. The wines of one Simon Seman, a vintner of London, were seized by the people of Elizabeth de Gourby, who was only persuaded to restore the stolen property after a long correspondence, when Simon claimed, on the testimonials of other London vintners, and obtained £36 16s. 8d. as compensation for the damage caused by the detention of his wines, valued at £197 13s. 2d., at the time of the seizure.‡

Later again, on December 24th, 1451, a ship called *le Kateryn de Bayonne*, laden at Bordeaux with forty-seven tuns of wine and other goods, arrived

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 3 Hen. VI., Part I., m. 11d. December 17th, 1424.

† *Idem*, 4 Hen. VI., Part II., m. 19d. March 26th, 1426.

‡ *Idem*, 6 Hen. VI., Part I., m. 1. December 1st, 1427.

and anchored at *Seyntyes* (probably *St. Ives*), in Cornwall, where it was seized with all its cargo by some Cornish pirates.* Ten years later, in 1461, some merchants of Gascony bringing wines to England, under safe conduct of Henry VI., were seized by Hugh Courtenay, and taken to Fowey.†

Edward IV. inaugurated his reign by placing further difficulties in the path of the vintners, and by creating new causes for arbitrary seizures of wines, through a spiteful ordinance prohibiting the import of wine from those of the French provinces which had once belonged to England. As these provinces had, up to that time, supplied by far the greater proportion of the wines drunk in this country, such an ordinance could not be strictly enforced.

On October 20th, 1462, a commission was nominated to inquire whether any wines had been brought to the port and town of Plymouth contrary to the late ordinance of the King, that no one should bring any wines of the growth of Bordeaux, Bayonne, or Rochelle, or any other place of the Duchy of Aquitaine, from thence to England, or to other places under the King's obedience, under colour of safe conduct or otherwise, after August 31st, except such as might be taken by the King's subjects as prizes at sea, and to seize such wine as might have been brought.‡

This unjustified and unprecedented measure was a source of endless trouble to all foreign vintners, whose wines, whether they came from Burgundy or

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 2 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 21d

† *Idem*, 1 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 5d. July 15th, 1461.

‡ *Idem*, 2 Ed. IV., Part. II., m. 5d.

Spain, were often seized as lawful prize, under pretence that they had been shipped from Bordeaux or La Rochelle.

Thus, some men of Fowey complained that, having captured at sea William Boyne and some other men of Brittany, who owed them 100 marks for their expenses in prison, one John Hatys, of Nantes, in Brittany, freighted 30 tuns of wine of the growth of the Duchy of Brittany in a carvel of Nantes, for the payment of the said expenses. John had brought the wine to Plymouth, where it was seized by force of a commission of the King, because it was asserted by certain persons to be wine of the growth of Aquitaine, to the great loss of the petitioners and of the prisoners, although the latter were prepared to prove that the wine was of the growth of the Duchy of Brittany.*

In 1465, a commission was sent to the Mayor of the towns of Poole and Weymouth, to seize a vessel of Talamons, in Aquitaine, then in the port of Poole, and a vessel of Rouen, in Normandy, then in the port of Weymouth, both laden with wine of the growth of Aquitaine, and to keep the vessels and the wine in safe custody.†

Such seizures effected under the Royal authority proved to be an encouragement to similar acts of violence on the persons and wines of the King's allies and of neutrals.

Thus, in 1464, some merchants of Venice, who had freighted a crayer to go from Sandwich to London with sweet wines, were plundered in the

* * Calend. Patent Rolls, 6 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 17d. | † *Idem.* 5 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 22d. March 13th, 1465.

Thames by Litell Peryn of Sandwich, Pratte of Wynchelsea, and Fagge of Whytby.*

A ship of Brittany, with a cargo of 92 tuns of wine, was seized, during that same year, by English pirates, in spite of the truce,† and *la Mandeleyme*, of Spain, laden with divers wines of Spain, being stranded near the Isle of Wight, the inhabitants kept the letters of safe conduct shown them, and carried off the wine.‡

In 1466, the ship of one Arnold Trussel, called *le Martyn de Bayonne*, coming to England under the King's safe conduct, was seized by subjects of the King, taken to Portsmouth, and despoiled of the wine, goods, and merchandise, which formed the cargo.§

In 1467, eight Flemish ships laden with wine were seized in the Channel by mariners of Southampton.||

In 1469, some merchants of Brittany complained that one of their ships had been seized on May 17th, near Belle Isle, with a cargo of 37 tuns of wine of Anjou.

Other depredations, which, it was alleged, had been committed at or near Belle Isle during that year alone, included the capture of 240 tuns and one pipe of wine from eight different carvels.¶

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 4 E. I. IV., Part I., m. 161. May 3rd, 1464.

† *Idem*, 7 E. I. IV., Part II., m. 19d, and 8 E. I. IV., Part I., m. 23d.

‡ *Idem*, 3 E. I. IV., Part II., m. 11d. January 2nd, 1464.

§ *Idem*, 6 E. I. IV., Part II., m. 20d.

|| *Idem*, 7 E. I. IV., Part II., m. 4d.

¶ *Idem*, 9 E. I. IV., Part II.,

m. 17d. July 27th, 1469. Complaint of merchants of Brittany of seizures:—On May 17th, near Belle Isle, a ship with 37 tuns of wine of Anjou; on Tuesday, after Whitsuntide, a carvel of William Morice, near Belle Isle, laden with 23 tuns of wine, value £100; and on the same day and place, another carvel with 27 tuns, value £100; also, near Belle Isle, from a carvel

In 1470, a treaty was concluded between the King of France and Henry VI. by which the merchants of Bordeaux and La Rochelle were once more permitted to bring their wines to England, whilst English subjects could go in perfect security to all parts of France.* This treaty, however, does not appear to have been binding on Edward IV., who regained the throne in the following year, since captures of French, Italian, Spanish and Rhenish wines at sea are far from uncommon in the records of his reign.

In 1470, a San Sebastian merchant had his ship seized and the cargo of 40 casks of Bordeaux wine taken from him.† In 1471, the ship of John Ochoa, on its voyage from Spain to England, with 72 tuns of wine, was seized by men of Dartmouth, in spite of the truce between Edward IV. and the King of Castile.‡

In 1472, a Venetian carrack, with over 400 casks of sweet wine, was captured on its way to England by French pirates.§

In 1473, Henry Hermanson, of Vandordrygh, in Holland, had brought 60 tuns of Rhenish wine to Orwell, and his vessel being at anchor, pirates came and despoiled him of the said wine and other goods.||

of Ivo Guole, coming from the parts of Spain, in February, 23 tuns of wine; and in the port of Laseilles, on the Feast of Corpus Christi, a ship of Ivo Guole, with 52 tuns of wine; a cargo with also 63 tuns of wine of Ivo Guole; 4 tuns and 1 pipe from another ship; 2 tuns and 1 pipe of Gascon wine from another Gascon merchant; 4 tuns of Gascon wine from another; and 44 tuns of Gascon wine from another.

* "Et les lettres estoit contenu de la faicte du Roy, et du Roy d'Angleterre, en mandant de les lettres tous Anglois de nir et descendre en ce Roy pour leurs affaires et

marchandises, sans sauf conduits ne autre seureté comme les subiets de France, sauf en ce non comprins Edouart de la Marche, n'aguieres Roy dudit Royaulme d'Angleterre, ses aliez et complices."—*Histoire de Louys XI., dite Chronique Scandaleuse*, par Jean de Troyes, Ed. 1714, p. 164.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XI. p. 674.

‡ *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 11 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 8d.

§ *Idem*, 12 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 13.

|| *Idem*, 13 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 16d.

In 1480, four ships, laden with over 1,000 tuns of wine and other goods, went ashore at Mounterbay, in Cornwall, and although the merchants and crew were saved, the wine was carried away by the inhabitants as wreck of sea.*

In 1483, some merchants of Brittany, bringing wines of Gascony and La Rochelle to England, trusting to the treaty between the King of England and the Duke of Brittany, were seized by Fowey mariners.† The same fate befell some other Bretons, who were bringing wines from Aquitaine, in 1484, and were despoiled off Topsham by men of that port.‡

On the other hand, pirates of Brittany were accused of having captured and taken to Brest, in 1483, a ship of Henry, Duke of Northumberland, bringing wines and other goods to England for that nobleman.§

These repeated losses did not prevent John de Saere and Anthony Johnson from asking, in 1484, to be allowed to bring Gascon wine in ships of Brittany, a permission which was granted to them, as also that of selling the said wine in London or Southampton.||

At no period of English history were the fundamental principles of political prudence and economy more utterly disregarded than under the rule of the Lancastrian and Yorkist monarchs. Bent on reaching their ambitious ends by fair means or foul, these princes completely ignored the wise policy of the

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 20 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 10d.

† *Idem*, Ed. V., m. 5d.

‡ *Idem*, 2 Ric. III., Part II., m. 7d.

§ *Idem*, 1 Ric. III., Part II., m. 4.

|| Harl. MS. Art. 2025, fo. 197 verso.

Emperor Frederick II., who always commanded his officers to do everything in their power to insure the prosperity of the people, saying that it was greatly to his advantage that his subjects should be wealthy.*

Henry IV. gained the throne by violence and was forced to resort to violence to retain the supreme power. His son diverted the turbulent energy of the nobility into the channels of foreign struggles. During the reign of Henry VI. England was drained of both men and money for a disastrous struggle which ended in the complete loss of all her French possessions, a calamity which was followed by the far worse evils of civil war. For twenty years, the wars of the Roses desolated the land, and when these came to an end, foreign expeditions were renewed, in 1475.

But, although the growth of the nation's foreign trade was checked by the storms it had to contend with during the greater part of the fifteenth century, it was already too strong to receive more than a temporary injury. and it began to recover activity and prosperity as soon as some degree of tranquillity was restored under the Tudors.

* "Nostrorum fidelium volumus utilitatibus providere cum nostra intersit locupletes habere subjectos. (Reg. Feder. II., fo. 99 verso.) Præsertim ad omnem locupleta-

tionem fidelium intendentes."—Huillard Breholles, *Histoire Diplomatique de Frédéric II.*, t. v., p. 507.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY VII., by his energy and some of the wise laws enacted during his reign, restored peace to the country and rendered possible the wonderful progress which was to take place in England during the sixteenth century.

His love of gain made him study the interests of the commercial classes and encourage maritime enterprise, although it cannot be said that this thrifty monarch was much beyond his age in the notions he entertained of trade, trading and traders.

Thus, in the Parliament that met in November, 1487, the King directed that the Commons attend to the best means to promote the advancement of the trade and manufactures of the country, and "to repress the bastard and barren employment of moneys to usury and unlawful exchanges"; commerce was therefore to be promoted by the destruction of commerce, since usury, in mediæval phrasæology, meant the lending and borrowing of money at interest, a most important branch of commercial credit.

Henry VII. had given a proof of the good intentions he entertained towards the trading community soon after his accession to the throne. On January 17th, 1486, he issued orders to all his subjects

to receive the merchants of France in a friendly manner and without requiring the production of either safe conducts or licences.*

This generous recommendation of the monarch was, however, considerably discounted by the exclusion of the French wine merchants bringing their wines from Bordeaux, who formed a large proportion of all the French subjects trading with England.

By a Statute which received Parliamentary sanction in the first year of his reign, Henry ordered that "no manner of person of what degree or condition that he be of, buy or sell within this said realm [of England], Ireland, Wales, Calais or Berwick, from the feast of Michaelmas next now coming (1486), any manner of wines of the growing of the Duchy of Guienne or of Gascony, but such wines as shall be adventured and brought in an English, Irish, or Welshman's ship or ships." The crew of all such ships were, besides, to consist of at least a majority of English, Irish, or Welsh sailors. All wine brought to England after Michaelmas contrary to this act was to be forfeited.†

This measure had been adopted by Parliament with a view to stimulate the English shipbuilding trade and maritime enterprise. Soon after, drawn into an unfortunate quarrel with Charles VIII., Henry resorted to the extreme measure of prohibiting to his subjects all intercourse with France. This measure, which would have crippled the mercantile marine and proved fatal to the English wine trade had

* Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I., p. 706.

† Stat. 1 Hen. VII., c. 8. *For operations of the Naunce.* Rot. Parl., m. 70. This Statute was renewed

by Stat. 4 Hen. VII., c. 10; Rot. Parl., m. 39, and amplified by Stat. 7 Hen. VIII., c. 2; 21 Hen. VIII., c. 21; and 23 Hen. VIII., c. 7.

it been strictly enforced or long persevered with, was happily cancelled by the treaty of Etaples in 1492. Previous to this treaty, however, the King condemned his own policy by the grant of very numerous licences and safe conducts to those of his subjects who wished to go to France and fetch wine.

Thus, in August 1488, John Wiltshire, merchant of London, was given a safe conduct to import 220 tuns of wine from Bordeaux, Bayonne or Rochelle ;* Thomas Wyndeout, John Shaa and John Wiltshire, merchants of London, and called the "licenced and welbeloved subgiettes of the King," had a similar safe conduct.† Such licences were also granted to John Persyvale, Knight and Alderman of the City of London, to import 100 tuns of wine of Gascony and Aquitaine (November 14th, 1488);‡ to Philip Payne and Richard Popeley, merchants of London, to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine of the coming vintage (September 10th, 1490);§ to Altobrandine Tanagli and Lewis de Bardes, merchants and subjects of the King, to import Gascon wine (October 1st, 1490);|| to John Wheler, merchant of London, to import wine from Bordeaux (October 5th, 1490);¶ to John Robynson, merchant of Boston, to import 200 tuns of Gascon wine (October 8th, 1490);** to John Michal and others, merchants of London, to go to Bordeaux and bring back *any maner of wyne as shal please them* (October 24th, 1490);†† to John Esterfield, merchant of Bristol, to go to Bordeaux with similar privileges (October 25th, 1490); ‡‡ to John Heron,

* Campbell, Hen. VII., Rolls Series, Vol. II., p. 340.

† *Idem*, p. 342.

‡ *Idem*, p. 362.

§ *Idem*, p. 595.

¶ *Idem*, p. 512.

|| *Idem*, p. 513.

** *Idem*, p. 514.

†† *Idem*, p. 517.

‡‡ *Idem*, p. 518.

merchant of London, to import 200 tuns of wine from Bordeaux to London (November 13th, 1490);* to Henry Brasier, merchant of London, a safe conduct for a similar quantity (November 24th, 1490);† to Nicholas Brome and George Minons, merchants of Bristol, to import wine of Gascony and Anjou (November 21st, 1490).‡

Such licences and safe conducts granted to wine merchants rendered the King's prohibition of commercial intercourse between France and England quite illusory. The same may be said of the order that no wine of Guienne or Gascony be imported into England except in English bottoms; the resources of the national mercantile navy were quite unequal to the importance which this branch of the English wine trade still held. Safe conducts were accordingly freely granted to foreigners, principally Spaniards and men of Brittany, to import wine from the lost provinces.

Such licences were granted to John de Scova, merchant of Spain, to import 200 *tonnes of Gascoyne wyne from Bordeaux* (July 25th, 1488);§ to Peter de Indainta, master of the ship *Peterde Spinaya* to import 250 tuns (August 14th, 1488);|| to Anthony de Rowne, subject of the King of Spain, to import 250 tuns of Bordeaux and other wines (June 30th, 1489);¶ to Domynek del Mesqueta, master of a Spanish ship, to import 300 tuns of Guienne wine from Bordeaux (July 19th, 1489);** and to Yvon Michel, merchant of Morlaix, in Brittany, to import 60 tuns of wine from Bordeaux into England (December 9th, 1490).††

* Campbell, Hen. VII., Rolls Series, Vol. II., p. 525.

† *Idem*, p. 531.

‡ *Idem*, p. 532.

§ *Idem*, p. 338.

|| *Idem*, p. 345.

¶ *Idem*, p. 455.

** *Idem*, p. 463.

†† *Idem*, n. 546.

The trading community had barely time to rejoice at the normal commercial relations between France and England, which had been resumed as a consequence of the treaty of Etaples, when fresh trouble arose over the affair of Perkin Warbeck. The encouragement given to that adventurer by the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy was so greatly resented by Henry VII. that he banished all the Flemings out of England and ordered all intercourse between the two countries to cease; by way of retaliation the Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands, expelled all English subjects from his dominions. This state of things continued for nearly three years, during which very little, if any, German wine could have found its way into this country. "The interruption of trade," says Bacon, "began to pinch the merchants of both nations very sore," and commissioners from both sides, having met at London, soon arranged a treaty for the renewal of commerce, known as the *Intercursus magnus* or Great Treaty, which gave rise to prolonged public rejoicings.*

During the rest of his reign, Henry VII. was able to maintain friendly, if not actually cordial, relations with France, Flanders, Italy, Spain and Portugal. Such a general peace, the like of which had not been known in Europe for many years, had a very invigorating effect on the trend of the foreign trade of England in general, and of the wine trade in particular. This branch of commerce derived at the same time much benefit from the wealth accumulating from the great geographical discoveries

* G. Schanz, *Eng'sische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters*, Vol. I., p. 18.

of the period, both in the east and the west ; in the first instance, the greater material comforts and increased spending capacity of the public benefited the wine trade directly, whilst, in the second instance, it was indirectly affected by the diversion of the King's ambition into new channels. "The claim to the Crown of France which Henry VIII. thought of asserting once more was only abandoned," says Lord Herbert of Cherbury, "on representations of the far greater advantage to be derived from competition with the Spaniards and Portuguese in the New World."*

The increase in the foreign trade of the country and in the wealth of the people, and their command over the conveniences and luxuries of life, proceeded at an accelerated rate during the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign.†

Some idea may be formed of the importance of the wine trade in England during the reign of Henry VIII. from the number of licences granted by that monarch to merchants and others wishing to import wine. These licences, it must be remembered, were only granted to those foreign traders who otherwise were not allowed to come to England with their wines, or to noblemen, servants of the King or their widows, to whom such a favour was accorded in consideration of past services. They represent, therefore, only a small proportion of the wine imported into England ; they are practically exceptional shipments which did not affect the trade to any appreciable extent, but the considerable quantity of wine which was thus imported helps us to form

* See Lord Herbert of Cherbury. *Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.*

† G. L. Craik, *History of British Commerce*, Vol. I., p. 217.

an idea of the importance the regular trade in wine must have reached in England during that period.

In 1509, a licence was granted to Joan, widow of William Menart, and another to Henry Penago, one of the King's "sewers," each to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine.*

In 1511, licences were granted to Emma Grey to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine; to Peter de la Rea to bring a cargo of Gascon wine from Bordeaux; to John Lavell and Thomas Ende, merchants of France, to import 150 tuns of Gascon wine into London; to Thomas Bradley and to Richard Gittons, of London, each to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine; to Peter de la Rea, of Spain, to import 200 tuns of woad and Gascon wine; and to Giles Duwes, to import 500 tuns of Gascon wine, in spite of the fact that Henry had joined the Holy League against France.†

In 1512, licences were granted to James Worsley, Groom of the Robes, to import 200 tuns of Gascon wine in the space of two years; to Peter and Antonio Lopez, to import 300 tuns of Toulouse woad and Gascon wine.‡

In 1513, licences were granted to import Malmseys; also, to John Ware and John Shipman, merchants of Bristol, to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine; to Roger Deelee, to import 50 tuns of Gascon wine; to Robert White, to import 40 tuns of Gascon wine; to Thomas Tyrell, Master of the Horse to the Queen, to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine from Flanders; to Thomas

* Brewer, Letters and Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. I., Nos. 402, 741.

† *Idem*, Nos. 1137, 1140, 1143, 1837, 1846, 1886, 1944.

‡ *Idem*, Nos. 2058, 3009, 3424.

Stotevyle, to import 500 tuns of Gascon and French wine ; to William Atwater, Dean of the King's Chapel, and to John Younge, Master of the Rolls, to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine.*

In 1514, licences were granted to John Holand and William Walesse, Yeomen of the Guard, to import 600 tuns of Gascon wine or Toulouse woad ; to Watkyn and John Vaughan, Grooms of the Chamber, to bring to England every year, for four years, one ship of 120 tons burden laden with Gascon wine and woad ; to Robert Loward, alias Lord, goldsmith, of London, clerk of Sir John Daunce, to import 2,000 tuns of Gascon wine ; to Edward Matthew, to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine ; to Godfrey Darold, merchant of Boston, to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine ; to John Meawtis, the King's French Secretary, to import 400 tuns of Gascon wine ; to Giles du Wes, to import 200 tuns of Gascon wine.†

In 1515, licences were granted to Charles, Duke of Suffolk, to import 300 tuns of Gascon wine ; to John Rokes, Groom of the Chamber, to import 400 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad ; to Robert Loward, alias Lord, goldsmith, of London, etc., to import 2,000 tuns of Gascon wine ; to Martin Dupyne, to import 1,200 tuns of Gascon wine ; to William Dernies and to William Symons, each to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine ; to John Eston, cooper, of London, to import 500 tuns of Gascon wine ; to John Lyne and William Turner, merchants of London, to import 400 tuns of Gascon wine or Toulouse woad ; George Anderson, merchant of Genoa, was granted

* Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. I., Nos. 4260, 4261, 4420, 4469, 4515, 4552, 4530, 4588

† *Idem*, Nos. 4797, 4834, 4884, 4925, 5227, 5233, 5459.

a similar licence, as also Jacques Rochart and his executors to import 500 tuns of Gascon wine.*

In 1516, licences were granted to Fras. de Barbi, merchant of Florence, to import 1,061 butts of Malvesey; to Richard Gresham, of London, Mercer, to import Malvesey and other wines, silk, gold, cloth, etc., the customs not to exceed £2,000; to Peter Wildbank, to import 22 tuns of Gascon wine; to Charles, Earl of Worcester, Chamberlain, to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine within two years; to William Dale, merchant of Bristol, to import 20 tuns of Gascon wine; to Edward Forrest, Groom of the Chamber, to import 300 tuns of wine; to Ambrose Bradman, Sergeant at Arms, to import 120 tuns of wine; to John Eston, of London, cooper, to import 1,000 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad; to Robert Loward, alias Lord, to import 2,000 tuns of Gascon wine; to Jacques Rochart, to import 409 tuns of Gascon wine; to John Lavell, merchant of Rouen, to import 300 tuns of Gascon wine; and to William Symons, the King's servant, to import 1,400 tuns of Toulouse woad and Gascon wine.†

In 1517, licences were granted to John Peter de Bressia to import 500 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad; to John Lyne and John Rokes, to import 265 tuns; to Barnard Toley for 450 tuns; to Jacob Pillino and Peter de Antinariis, merchants of Venice, for 60 tuns, and to John Lavell, merchant of Rouen, for 300 tuns of Gascon wine.‡

In 1518, licences were granted for the importation

<p>* Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., Nos. 19, 384, 575, 792, 793, 822, 837, 932, 1040, 1041.</p>	<p>2198, 2297, 2356, 2422, 2479, 2512, 2582.</p>
<p>† <i>Idem</i>, Vol. II., Part I., Nos. 1591, 1740, 1810, 1948, 2049, 2181,</p>	<p>‡ <i>Idem</i>, Vol. II., Part II., Nos. 2999, 3306, 3381, 3502, 3704.</p>

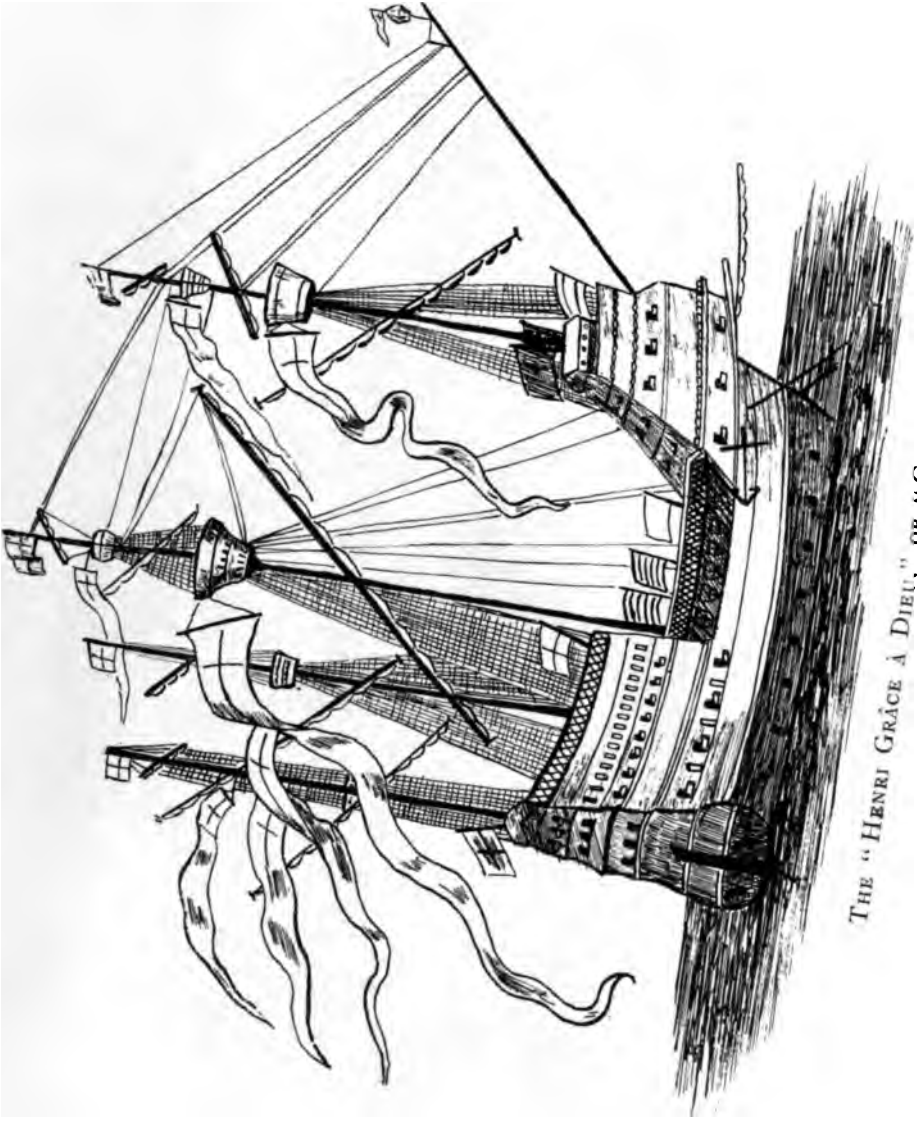
of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad, to Alex. Manseno, for 500 tuns ; to Benedict de Opiciis, for 350 tuns ; to John Meawtis, the King's French Secretary, for 400 tuns ; to Richard Gittons, of London, for 120 tuns ; to Rassinio de Isturisaga, for 200 tuns, and to John Fazacurley for 400 tuns.*

In September, 1521, Henry VIII., having reasons to doubt Francis I.'s good intentions towards England, wrote to Wolsey, who was then at Calais on a special mission, asking him whether it would be wise to allow the English fleet of merchantmen to go to Bordeaux as usual at the vintage ; the King feared that those ships might be seized at Bordeaux, under some pretext or other, by the French, but at the same time he did not wish to give offence to Francis by rendering his suspicions public, and forbidding merchants to go to Gascony to fetch their wines. In a lengthy reply to this enquiry, Wolsey says that he had obtained from the French Chancellor the assurance that no English vessel should be molested at Bordeaux, but he adds that caution is necessary, and little faith is to be placed in such promises ; Wolsey's advice was to allow French and Breton vessels to bring Gascon wines to England, and thus minimise the risk the English mercantile marine would run by trusting to friendly declarations, and going to Bordeaux or other French ports. This advice, however, was not followed, and the English fleet proceeded to Bordeaux, where, as had been feared, some vessels were confiscated by the French authorities.†

In 1533, a Bill was passed forbidding the import

* Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., Nos. 4008, 4192, 4389, 4390, 4488, 4600.

† State papers published under the authority of His Majesty's Commissioners. King Henry VIII., pp. 46, 62, 68.



THE "HENRI GRÂCE À DIEU," OR "GREAT HARRY."

of new wine from France before the Feast of the Purification of Our Lady (February 2nd), and renewing the former prohibition to import wine in other than English vessels.* This Bill had, however, to be revoked the following year on account of the representations of the French Ambassador, who pointed out that it was contrary to the treaties and leagues then existing between France and England.†

In 1532-3, the Scots captured seven vessels, laden by English merchants with wines and other goods;‡ this was, however, one of the very few acts of piracy recorded at the time.

The greater security of the mercantile marine at sea was the immediate consequence of the more numerous and more powerful Royal Navy built by Henry VIII., the pride of which was the *Henri Grâce à Dieu*, more commonly called the *Great Harry*, of 1,000 tons burden.

In 1534, John Chereton was granted a licence to import 200 tuns of wine.§

In 1535, licences were granted to John Reskemer, Esquire of the Body, to import 30 tuns of French wine;|| to Richard Long, Gentleman Usher of the Chamber, to import 200 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad;¶ to Robert Porter, to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine in vessels of France, Flanders, Spain or Brittany.**

* Stat. 23 Hen. VIII., cap. 27. See Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain. Edited by Pascual de Gayangos, Vol. V., Part I., p. 347.

† Gairdner, Hen. VIII., Vol. VII., No. 1377. November 3rd, 1534.

‡ Brown, Calend. of State Papers, Venice, Vol. IV., p. 867.

§ Gairdner, Henry VIII. Vol. XV., No. 1030, sec. 18.

|| *Idem*, Vol. IX, No. 914, sec. 30.

¶ *Idem*, No. 236, sec. 11.

** *Idem*, No. 914, sec. 9.

In 1536, licences were granted to Anthony de Castelnau, Bishop of Tarbes, to import 50 tuns of Gascon wine; * to Sir Francis Brian, to import 100 tuns of Gascon wine; † to Philip van Wylder, for 200 tuns; to Christian Parke, for 300 tuns; to Petro de Gozman, for 600 tuns; to John Berckle, for 500 tuns; to Gawin Carewe for 500 tuns; to Charles Howard, also for 500 tuns; and to Edward Rogers and John Zouch, for 1,000 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad. ‡

In 1537, Philip van Wylder was again granted a licence to import 600 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad. §

In July, 1538, Charles Howard, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, and George Howard, one of the King's surgeons, were jointly licensed to import 1,000 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad. ||

In 1539, a licence to import 300 tuns of Gascon wine was granted to Jacopo de Basyano, of Venice, and to Antonio, his brother; ¶ in the same year, another Italian, Antonio Giabo, surgeon, was given a licence to import 600 tuns of Gascon wine, and a similar licence was granted to John de Severina, to import 200 tuns of Gascon wine or Toulouse woad. **

On January 22nd, 1539, James V. of Scotland wrote to Cromwell desiring a licence for Thomas Udart, his servant, to buy in London 16 pieces of

* Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. X., No. 581.

† *Idem*, No. 392, sec. 40.

‡ *Idem*, No. 775, sec. 22; No. 1256, sec. 49; Vol. XI., No. 202, sec. 28; No. 1417, secs. 8, 17, 22, 24.

§ *Idem*, Vol. XII., Part I., No. 795, sec. 48.

|| French Roll, 30 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

¶ Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIV., Part I., No. 403, sec. 49.

** *Idem*, Part II., No. 264, secs. 25, 26.

Malvoisey and other *Stark* wines,* and on May 15th, 1540, a licence was granted to Martin Balkysky, another servant of the King of the Scots, to purchase in England, for the use of his royal master, 20 tuns of Malmsey or other sweet wine.†

In 1540, a licence to import 400 tuns of Gascon wine was granted to William Pagett, one of the Clerks of the Signet, whilst Charles and George Howard were again allowed to import 1,000 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad.‡

In 1542, licences were granted to George Barne, a London merchant, to import 50 tuns of Gascon wine; to Jacobo de Bassyano, of Venice, and to Antonio, his brother, to import 300 tuns of Gascon wine; and to Alard Plumier, the King's jeweller, to import 400 tuns of Gascon wine and to export 400 tuns of beer.§

Such licences were freely granted whilst the friendly relations which had been at last established between Henry VIII. and Francis I. subsisted. In 1539, the English monarch's ire was roused by Francis' curt reply and refusal to agree to a proposed meeting of the two Sovereigns, at Calais, where he was invited to bring along with him the Princesses of Guise and all the handsomest ladies of quality for Henry to choose another victim to succeed his three former wives.||

Charles V. was not slow to take advantage of

* Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIV., Part I., No. 125.

† *Idem*, Vol. XV., No. 733, sec. 58.

‡ *Idem*, Vol. XVI., No. 780, sec. 3; No. 1056, sec. 16.

§ *Idem*, Vol. XVII., No. 137, sec. 49; No. 71, sec. 10; No. 220, sec. 3.

|| "Francis said that his regard for the fair sex was too great to bring ladies of high rank like geldings to a market, there to be chosen or rejected by the humour of the merchant."—*Le Grand*, Vol. III. p. 638.

Henry's displeasure and to bring about an open rupture between the Kings of France and England. The Bordeaux trade suffered greatly from this renewed hostility, and licences to go to Gascony were no longer granted so freely, none but English subjects being able to obtain them, they were even refused to the King's allies, the subjects of the Emperor. The correspondence which passed, on this question of the safe conducts to Gascony, between the Queen of Hungary, then Regent of the Low Countries, and Eustace Chapuys, her Ambassador at the Court of Henry VIII., in 1543 and 1544, is of interest as illustrating the character of the English monarch.

In order to encourage the mercantile and maritime enterprise of his own subjects at the expense of Francis I., now his enemy, Henry had prohibited the importation of wine into England in other than English vessels, which, moreover, were to obtain a royal safe conduct for the voyage. The Queen of Hungary, who had espoused Henry's cause, and waged war against France, claimed, not unnaturally, that she had as good a right to grant to her Flemish subjects safe conducts to go to France for wine as the King of England had to his own people ; and she argued that Henry ought to give orders to his admirals not to molest Flemish vessels which were granted such safe conducts by Her Royal Majesty, or else that he, the King, ought to grant his own safe conducts to those Flemish vessels which the Queen deemed proper to licence for the voyage to Bordeaux.

On April 8th, 1543, the Queen of Hungary wrote to Chapuys, as follows :—" As to the difficulties

which the King makes about granting safe conducts to vessels laden with wine from France on the reasons and considerations alleged by his privy councillors and mentioned in your despatch of April 2nd, you will represent to them that those very considerations have hitherto prevented us from granting safe conducts to vessels coming from France to these Low Countries laden with wine, but since then, considering that in consequence of the War of Cleves, German wines cannot be easily procured, and that an army is to be raised and put on war footing, it is indispensable to make provision of wine for the soldier to drink—of which article we already begin to feel the want—we have lately granted permissions to introduce 10,000 tuns of it, 3,000 tuns of which are already stowed in twenty French vessels. . . . We very much wish that the King would give orders for the said wine destined for these Low Countries to be allowed to pass free, promising on our part to take care that none of it goes to Scotland . . . besides which, should we require in future more wine, it shall not be introduced in French bottoms, but in Spanish, English or Flemish ships, as may be.”*

On April 18th, 1543, Eustace Chapuys replied to the above as follows:—“I have tried hard to obtain the passport or placet for the twenty ships laden with wine and some with biscuit (*les vingt navieres chargeez de vin, et les aultres de pastel*), but I have been unable to make this King consent to it, his principal objection being, not to what else the French ships might convey besides the above-

* Calend. of Letters and State Papers. Edited by P. de Gayangos. Vol. VI., Part II., pp. 299, 300.

mentioned articles, or do during their voyage, but on account of the return money which through that means would flow into the pockets of the enemy. As to himself, he declared to me that he would rather drink beer, or even water, than allow his subjects to import French wines as abundantly as they used in former times, and that he found it very strange that the licence applied for should be for 10,000 tuns, whereas in time of peace it had never exceeded 6,000 tuns for England and the Low Countries together. That the price of such a quantity of wine would amount to a terrific sum (*horrible denier*), besides which the wine was of such quality that it could not be carried by waggons in the train of an army without becoming thick and sour in consequence. He had no objection to grant a licence for the introduction of 5,000 or 6,000 tuns for Your Majesty's dominions, but as to a larger quantity, he certainly would not."*

This concession, however, did not satisfy the Queen of Hungary, who wrote again on the subject to her Ambassador on May 1st and May 7th, letters which Chapuys answered on May 17th as follows :—
“ With regard to the wine, the King founds his refusal of the pass or licence on the ground that the application seems to have come entirely from foreign merchants having importuned Your Majesty under false pretences, and likewise because he finds that a considerable sum of money will thus pass into the hands of the French, our common enemies. He still alleges another reason, which is that a number of his own subjects, who, with his permission, have

* Calend. of Letters and State Papers, Edited by P. de Gayangos, Vol. VI., Part II., p. 315.

fitted out privateer vessels against the French, in order to recover the losses they have sustained at their hands, will naturally be displeased at the grant of such licences to export.”*

The first argument of the King was not very convincing, since he had himself sent several ships to Bordeaux in that same year, to fetch wine for his table and that of other distinguished people; those vessels were even captured on their way home by some French and Scottish ships, to the great indignation of Henry.†

The last excuse was rendered equally worthless by the fact that, also in that same year, three or four Portuguese ships having been captured on their way to France, where they had gone to fetch wines, presumably to be brought to England, Henry ordered that they should be immediately released.‡

In 1544, the Queen of Hungary wrote again to her Ambassador urging him to make new representations to the King and his Council. On January 10th she wrote:—“The English do not respect the safe conducts we give to merchants to import wine into the Low Countries, and we think this all the more unfair that they—the English—give many such safe conducts for merchants to come to England and we respect them. Moreover, they make use of the pretended neutrality of Guernsey for actually communicating, contracting, and bartering freely with the French as often as they like without hindrance or restriction of any sort; the inequality in this

* Calend. of Letters and State Papers. Edited by P. de Gayangos Vol. VI., Part II., p. 331.

† *Idem*, p. 233.

‡ *Idem*, p. 331.

case would be too glaring and unbearable, and a good deal more injurious to us and to the inhabitants of these Low Countries than to the French, especially as to wine nowadays very scarce in Germany, and which cannot be easily procured even from France. It is for the sake of wine, which is much wanted, for the soldiers especially, that we some time ago granted safe conducts for vessels carrying herrings, an article that cannot be kept long, in exchange for French wines, for if the Emperor's Army is not provided with it in time, the soldiers will have none till after the autumn."*

On February 9th, the Queen recurred to the same subject, writing as follows:—"By previous letters of ours on the subject of the safe conducts, you must have been apprised of the fact that the English refuse altogether to acknowledge and observe those granted on our side. We have since heard that vessels of these Low Countries with a cargo of herrings for France, to return therefrom with wine, have been seized in England, which seizure, we apprehend, will be not only exceedingly inconvenient, under present circumstances, but also, generally speaking, most prejudicial to the inhabitants (*manans*) of this country, who are in want of wine. We were in hope that in exchange for those herrings thus exported to France, we might get in return a good quantity of wine from that country, and this is why the said safe conducts were granted."

The Queen goes on to say that if the seized vessels were not immediately released, the fishing industry of her realm would be seriously affected,

* Calend. of Letters and State Papers. Edited by P. de Gayangos. Vol. VII., p. 11.

and there would be no wine for the consumption of the Army, when required at the approaching spring season.*

Henry yielded at last, fearing to lose an ally whose assistance was of so great value to him then, and it was agreed that in future the English were to respect all safe conducts granted by the Queen of Hungary as the Dutch would respect those granted by the King of England; no foreign vessels, however, with only a Dutch safe conduct, were to enter any other ports than those of the Low Countries.

The Queen expressed herself satisfied with this agreement, asking only that an exception might be allowed in favour of vessels forced by stress of weather to enter an English port for shelter.†

In 1544, Henry VIII., who had been greatly irritated by the renewed French alliance with Scotland, resolved upon an invasion of France. A large and powerful naval force was collected, the mercantile marine being again called upon to furnish ships towards the fleet to be used against the French.

At the same time, the import of French goods was prohibited,‡ a prohibition which was found so injurious to all classes of the community that it was repealed in the autumn of that same year. But, even whilst the interdiction was being enforced, Bordeaux wine was still shipped to England, if not openly to London or Bristol, at least to the Channel Islands, to which the prohibition did not apply, and whence much French wine was re-exported to England. Thus, in 1544, a licence was granted to Anthony White, leatherseller,

* Calend. of Letters and State Papers. Edited by P. de Gayangos. Vol. VII., pp. 40-42.

† *Idem*, p. 45. Feb. 14th, 1544.

‡ Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIX., Part I., Nos. 54, 89.

and to Thomas Gosslyng, merchant of London, to bring into the *realm* 25 tuns of Gascon wine from the parts of Guernsey.*

To try and make good in a certain measure the decrease in the imports of Gascon wine into England, which the war with France was bound to cause, encouragement seems to have been given to Englishmen and Germans to import greater quantities of Rhenish wine.

In November, 1543, John Grousbey, "gentleman," and William Wurden, merchant of the Steelyard, were granted a licence to export 800 tuns of beer before Michaelmas, 1545, after they had first brought hither 400 ohms of Rhenish wine, which they had bound themselves to bring to London for the King's use before Christmas next, each ohm to contain 36 gallons, and to be of the best sort, such as the Emperor, the Duke of Cleves and others use to drink, and to be paid for at the rate of 30s. per ohm. Their bond further compelled them to bring before Easter next as much more as shall make 400 tuns, and, before Midsummer next, the remainder of 800 tuns, at the same measure and price.†

In 1548, four English vessels coming from Bordeaux, laden with wine of Gascony for the King's provision, were captured by the Scots and taken to Brest.‡

On September 28th, 1549, Sir F. Dawtreys asked for a licence to import 1,000 tuns of wine.§

In 1551, the Statute of 4 Henry VII., csp. 10, prohibiting the importation of Gascony wine into

* Camden, Henry VIII., Vol. XIV., Part I., No. 80.
* 12 s., Vol. XVIII., Part II., No. 449, sec. 27.

† Calend. of State Papers, Foreign Series, Edward VI., No. 77.
§ 12 s., Domestic Series, Edward VI., Robert Lomas, 1547-1550, n. 22.

England, except in English ships, was repealed; it was decreed that "on and after February 1st, 1552, it shall be lawful for any manner of persons of nations in amity with the King to bring Gascon and French wine to England in their own ships in all security."* This permission, however, was only granted for a year, and does not appear to have been renewed.

After the death of Edward VI., a regularly organised system of downright piracy prevailed in English waters. A number of young men of good families fitted out some small vessels, chiefly in the ports of the West of England, and cruised in the Channel, and as far as the Bay of Biscay, attacking any Spanish vessel or ship from the Low Countries that they could discover. They were speedily joined by a few discontented Frenchmen of similar tastes, and were, for a time, a distinct menace to maritime commerce. One of the principal leaders of this gang was Sir Thomas Seymour; he had formed the project of seizing the Scilly Islands, which were to become the headquarters of this piratical fraternity, who had gone so far as, besides attacking and robbing the ships, to actually murder the crews.†

The decay of the Royal Navy during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary caused great prejudice to the merchant shipping in general, and to the wine trade in particular. But, in spite of the risks they ran at sea,‡ and in spite of higher duties levied

* Statutes of the Realm, Stat. 5 and 6 Ed. VI., cap. 18.

† R. J. Cornwall-Jones. *The British Merchant Service*, pp. 43-44.

‡ In 1553, the French captured, in the port of Plymouth, a Venetian ship laden with wine, and bound for

London. *Calend. of State Papers, Venice*. Vol. V., p. 831. In 1557, a Guernsey ship, laden with some Frenchmen's wines, was captured off Sark. *Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, Mary*. Vol. VIII.

in England, native as well as alien merchants never ceased to bring to this country large quantities of wine, for which there must have been a ready market, even during the unsettled period of political, religious, and commercial turmoil which prevailed when Queen Mary ascended the throne. Thus, in 1554, one Florence de Diaceto applied for a licence to import 4,000 tuns of French wine, on which an additional duty had lately been imposed.*

In a report sent in August, 1554, to Venice, by Soranzo, the Venetian Envoy in London, it is explicitly stated that the English drank a great quantity of Levant, Spanish, Rhenish and French wines :—

“ Although they have vines they do not make wine of any sort, the plant serving as an ornament for their gardens, rather than anything else, as the grapes do not ripen save in very small quantities, partly because the sun has not much power, and partly because precisely at the ripening season cold winds generally prevail, so that the grapes wither, but in lieu of wine they make beer, with wheat, barley, and hops, which [last ?] they import from Flanders, boiling all the ingredients together in water, and making it stronger or weaker by adding more wheat and less barley, and producing a contrary result by reversing the process. This potion (potione) is most palatable to them, and all persons drink it, even their Sovereigns, although they also consume a great quantity of wine, which is brought from Candia, Spain, the Rhine, and from France, this last being prized more than the rest, but it is sold at a very high price, so that it is usually worth from 36 to 40 ducats per butt,

* *Calen.l. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1580, p. 64.*

and in his (Soranzo's) time it cost as much as 50 ducats (*i.e.*, £11 5s.)."*

In the following reign another foreigner, a German, travelling in England, wrote as follows: " . . . though the soil is productive, it bears no wine, but this want is supplied from abroad by the best kinds as of Orleans, Gascon, Rhenish and Spanish."†

In the course of the long reign of Elizabeth the commerce and navigation of England made very striking progress, and the national prosperity rose accordingly.

The wine trade was directly affected, and greatly benefited by an Act passed in Elizabeth's first Parliament,‡ which is remarkable for a liberality of view going far beyond the notions that were clung to in commercial legislation in much later times. The preamble is a confession of the loss and inconvenience that had already avenged the interference of the legislature with the natural freedom of commerce by the introduction of the prohibitive and restrictive navigation laws. Since the enactment of these laws prohibiting the import of wine in any but English ships, "other foreign princes," says this preamble, "finding themselves aggrieved with the said several Acts, as thinking that the same were made to the hurt and prejudice of their country and navy, have made like penal laws against such as should ship out of their countries in any other vessels than of their several countries and dominions, by

* Brown, *Calend. of State Papers*, Venice, Vol. V., p. 542.

† Paul Hentzner's *Travels in England during the Reign of Queen*

Elizabeth, translated by Horace, late Earl of Orford (1797), p. 62.

‡ *Statutes of the Realm*, Stat. 1 Eliz., cap. 13.

reason whereof there hath not only grown great displeasure between the foreign princes and the Kings of this realm, but also the merchants have been sore grieved and endamaged." The damage sustained by the merchants, of course, consisted in the monopoly freights they were obliged to pay for the carriage of their goods, the effect of which was to diminish trade by diminishing consumption, and a share in the pressure of which was borne by every consumer in the kingdom. The law was now so far relaxed that wine and other merchandise was allowed to be imported in foreign bottoms upon payment of aliens' customs.

This more liberal policy was further carried out by the grant of licences for the import of considerable quantities of wine. Thus, on October 29th, 1558, the Queen granted to the Lord Privy Seal and Sir Henry Pagett a licence for five years to import yearly 10,000 tuns of French wines at a reduced custom duty of 4 marks per tun.*

The liberal policy which had marked the opening of Elizabeth's reign was often checked by subsequent political events, but never wholly abandoned.

On June 22nd, 1564, Elizabeth permitted French subjects to import wines in their own vessels, notwithstanding the statute to the contrary, a permission sanctioned by an Order in Council a few days later,† for a limited period at the end of which it was not renewed. A more comprehensive permissive ordinance was again enacted in December, 1579, when all foreigners whose Sovereign was not

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1580, p. 109. | † *Idem*, pp. 241, 242.

at war with the Queen were allowed to bring Gascon and French wines to England in their own ships, and without obtaining any special licence; this permission, which was only granted until March 20th, 1580, was as follows:—

“ The Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty . . . for avoiding the great and excessive prices of wines of the growing of the realm of France, now used to be sold and uttered within this her (the Queen’s) realm of England, is pleased and contented by this Her Highness’ proclamation, to give and grant full licence, liberty, and power, and authority to all, and every person and persons, whatsoever, being of any realm, country, and dominion, being in amity with Her Highness, to convey and bring, or cause to be conveyed and brought into this Her Majesty’s realm of England and dominion of Wales, at all times from the day of the date of this present proclamation, until March 20th, which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1580, all manner of wines of the growing of the Duchy of Guienne or Gascony, or of any other part or parts of the said realm of France, in any ship or ships, crayer or crayers, boat or boats, vessel or vessels, whatsoever person or persons be or shall be thereof possessor, owner, or proprietor, being of a country in amity with Her Majesty, or whosoever be thereof master or shall be mariner or mariners in the same, and the same wines to utter and sell in grosse in any part of this her realm of England or dominion of Wales, paying to Her Majesty the customs, subsidies and other duties to be charged for the same.”*

* Letter Book Z, fos. 14b, 15; 22 Eliz. (1579).

At the close of the sixteenth century, the foreign trade of England had become very active, and ships from all parts of Europe were to be seen in the Thames, at London, bringing the wines of the Levant, Spain, Bordeaux, Burgundy, and the Rhine. In 1597, during the month of January alone, the following vessels arrived at the London quays and docks :—

Twenty-six from Bordeaux, six from Spain, two from Stade, two from Tripoli, one from Venice, two from Caen, one from Dieppe, one from Rouen, nine from Scotland, ten from Dantzic, three from Hamburg, and thirty-four from the Low Countries,* or ninety-seven in this month, not the most propitious for shipping, by far.

The Bordeaux fleet, which continued to go to Gascony at every vintage, returned on December 12th, 1597, and, in the following year, was expected to arrive in London on December 18th.†

Although outrages at sea, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were not nearly of so frequent occurrence as formerly, some were still perpetrated from time to time.

In 1566, an English ship took a Flemish hulk, laden with wines, to Beerhaven, in Ireland, where the wine was sold.‡

In 1569, a Venetian ship, laden with wine, was captured on her way to England, by some French Huguenot vessels.§

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1595-1597, p. 353.

† Salisbury MSS., Part VII., p. 118; Part VIII., p. 507.

‡ Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series. Addenda, Vol. XIII., No. 45.

§ Brown, Calend. of State Papers, Venice, Vol. VII., No. 467.

In 1570, two French ships seized an English vessel, laden with wine, off the Yorkshire coast.*

In 1581, the *Mary of Alderney* coming from Nantes with wines, was captured by Captain Pelley.† In 1591, a Newhaven vessel on her way from San Lucar, in Spain, to London, with a cargo of Sack, was seized and sunk by Webb and others.§

In 1592, the *White Lion*, of Hamburg, laden with wines from Rochelle, being forced into Falmouth by stress of weather, was arrested by George Lake, an Englishman, who pretended that he could not have law at Hamburg, and the unfortunate owner of the wine, John Claen, petitioned Lord Treasurer Burghley, in 1593, to obtain the release of his ship and wine, but apparently with little success.§

In May, 1597, the Duke of Cumberland brought in to London a prize consisting of no less than 143 ships in all, which he had captured at sea, and which were laden with many commodities, including the following wines :—225 pipes of bastard wine, 142 pipes of Canary, 579 butts of Sack, 26 pipes of Alicant, 65 butts and 40 pipes of Malaga, 81 pieces of Rhenish wine, 814 tuns, 2 hogsheads, and 10 tierces of Gascon wine, or, in all, 1,984 casks of wine.||

In August, 1599, a ship was brought into Plymouth which was laden with wine from the Straits, and had been seized off the coast of Portugal.¶

In August, 1601, Sir John Gilbert reported the capture of certain Portuguese of the Madeiras, taken in a Dutch ship, laden with wines.**

* Calend. State Papers, Domestic Series. Addenda, Vol. XVII., No. 26.

† *Idem*, Vol. XXVII., No. 17.

‡ *Idem*, 1591-94, p. 99.

§ *Idem*, 1591-94, pp. 319, 329, 334.

|| Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series. 1595-1597, p. 432

¶ *Idem*, 1598-1601, p. 291.

** *Idem*, 1601-1603, p. 84.

CHAPTER III.

THE prosperity of the English wine trade depended largely on the more or less friendly relations existing between England and Continental Powers, also on the degree of security afforded to the mercantile marine and the consequent abundance or scarcity of wine brought to this country ; but it was likewise affected to a considerable extent by the legislative and municipal regulations by which Kings, Parliaments and Corporations attempted to control, assist or limit this important branch of commerce.

Whether a native or a foreigner, the wine merchant in England had to satisfy the Royal officers who levied customs, subsidies and the gauge tax, as well as those appointed by municipalities to enforce, not only that no wine be sold without a licence, but also that the price and the quality of the wine sold be of the standard fixed by authority.

The taxes levied by Royal officers on wine before it could be sold in England were the prisage, the butlerage, the subsidy or tunnage, and the gauge.

The prisage was the right of the Crown to take 2 tuns of wine out of every English vessel bringing 20 or more tuns of wine to England. This custom was the direct outcome of the unbounded prerogative of the monarch to demand and take from

his subjects, for his use and that of his Army, a certain supply of the necessities of life. The prisage, or, as it was originally called, the *recta prisa*, was never granted by Parliament, nor limited by Statute; it was never mentioned in any of the commercial treaties between England and foreign powers, and it was only levied on the wines of English subjects. Aliens or French subjects of the English monarchs paid butlerage in lieu of prisage; this duty, which had been agreed to between Edward I. and the merchant-vintners of Aquitaine, in 1302, had ever since remained fixed at 2s. per cask.* At the time of its imposition the rate of the butlerage was about the same, or a little less favourable to the merchants, than the prisage which the native traders had elected to go on paying. The average price of a tun of wine was then about 50s., so that the alien who imported 50 tuns of wine paid £5 butlerage, and the native merchants paid the same on a similar cargo by sacrificing two tuns of wine valued at 50s. each. But, at the end of the fourteenth and during the fifteenth century, the prisage had gradually become more onerous, as the price of wine had increased to over £5; in sacrificing out of every cargo two tuns of wine, the price of which had doubled, the native vintner paid now twice as much as formerly to the Crown, whilst the alien still paid at the same rate of 2s. per tun, and was thus placed in a more favourable position than the merchant denizen.

This inequality of treatment was, naturally enough, greatly resented by the native traders; they laid their grievance before Richard II., complaining of the excessive rate of the prisage, and

* See History of the Wine Trade in England, Vol. I., p. 141

praying to be relieved of this impost, and to pay the King 20d. for each "prisable" pipe, viz., two out of each cargo, and 10d. for every other pipe of the cargo. Richard refused to entertain such a proposition, but he offered to renounce entirely the Crown's right to the *recta prisa*, if the native merchants agreed to pay the same butlerage of 2s. per tun, as paid by the aliens, on all wine landed in England, and in every port of the realm, the privileges of London and the Cinque Ports notwithstanding.*

This offer was rejected by all the English merchants, who elected to still pay the prisage of 2 tuns per cargo of wine, a duty very onerous for one who only imported 50 or 60 tuns of wine at a time, but far more advantageous than the butlerage of 2s. per tun for the wealthy trader who could import 200 or 300 tuns, or even more, in the large ships which were built from the close of the fourteenth century onwards.

Nevertheless, the London vintners and other English merchants tried to render the burden of the *recta prisa* lighter, first of all by claiming an exemption of prisage on small cargoes of less than 30 tuns of wine, and then seeking to obtain for certain ports a total immunity from this custom; failing in the first they were only partially successful in the second of these two objects.

In 1400, the Commons presented their petition in Parliament, complaining that whereas in ancient times there was granted to the then King and his heirs, to take from every ship containing 30 tuns or above, 2 tuns at most, by way of prise, yet

* Rot. Parl., Vol. III., 16 Ric. II.

in the reign of the late King Richard II., John, Bishop of Salisbury, being then Treasurer of England, wrongfully and without authority of Parliament, caused the then Butler of the Crown to take of every ship laden with 20 tuns or more, 2 tuns against the usages and customs of the Southern and Western ports existing from time immemorial and contrary to the grant of the prisage aforesaid.*

This petition was bound to be rejected, since it was based on the assumption that prisage had been granted formerly by Parliament, whereas no such sanction had ever even been asked by any of Henry's predecessors.

The Commons were more successful when they urged the renewal of the privileges of exemption from prisage which had been granted in the past to London and the Cinque Ports; it was, however, specified that this exemption could only be claimed by freemen of the City or barons of the Cinque Ports, and for their own wines only. Denizens who did not enjoy the freedom of the City, "*non existentes liberi homines civitatis Londonie*," had to pay prisage at London † as at any other port.

The fluctuations in the value of wine from year to year rendered the prisage a very unstable duty, and the merchants obtained from the monarch that a uniform rate be fixed and maintained, representing the average value of a tun of wine, and the amount at which they could redeem the two tuns the Crown claimed as prisage; it was fixed at £4 per tun under Henry VIII., at £3 by Mary, and £6 per tun by Elizabeth, whilst

* Rot. Parl., Vol. III., pp. 109, 477.

† Hubert Hall, A History of the Custom Revenue in England.

the butlerage remained fixed, throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at 2s. per tun of wine imported in England by alien merchants.

The subsidy differed from the prisage and butlerage, being a parliamentary grant in excess of either of these imposts which were levied by virtue of the Crown's prerogative. The subsidy on wine, or tunnage, was paid by alien and native merchants alike, but the rate at which it was charged differed with the origin of the wine imported or the nationality of the importer.

Thus, when, according to the needs of the time, Parliament granted a subsidy of 2s. or 3s. per tun on French or Rhenish wine, 4s. or 6s. was charged on all sweet wines which were, from the first, always selected by the legislator for extra taxation. Parliament granted a subsidy of 6s. on every tun of sweet wine to Edward IV.; also to Henry VII., the "same subsidy called tunnage, of 3s. on every tun of wine coming in to the kingdom, and of 3s. more on every tun of sweet wine."*

In 1547, the Commons granted to Edward VI. "3s. tunnage on every tun of wine imported by way of merchandise, and so after the rate; and every tun of sweet wine, as well Malvesie as other that shall or is to come into the same your realm by every or any merchant alien, as well as by merchants of the Hanse and Allmain as by any other merchant stranger, what nation soever he be, 3s. and so after the rate over and above the 3s. above granted. And of every ohm of Rhenish wine 12d."†

* Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII.*, pp. 245, 246.

† *Statutes of the Realm*, Stat. 1 Ed. VI., cap. 12.

This grant was renewed in favour of Queen Mary to last during her life.*

The subsidy on wine appears to have been a personal grant to the monarch, who was not bound to expend the proceeds thereof to national ends.

Thus, in 1472, Edward IV. granted to Dominic de Serigo, his physician, £120 from the subsidy of 6s. on every tun of sweet wine brought in a Venetian carrack shortly expected to arrive in England. This vessel having been captured at sea by French pirates, he granted to Dominic £150 from the same subsidy on any sweet wine brought by the two first Venetian carracks to reach England.†

Besides the prisage, butlerage, and tunnage, other taxes and customs were from time to time levied on certain wines brought to England, according to their quality or the nationality of the importers.

Thus, when the Venetians imposed a duty of 18s. per butt of Malmsey shipped from Candia in English bottoms, a special duty was sanctioned by Henry VII., by way of retaliation, on all Malmseys brought to England by Venetians, and this duty remained in force long after the repeal of that imposed by Venice.‡

Queen Mary imposed a new custom of 6s. 8d. per butt on all sweet wines, beyond the butlerage and subsidy, and Elizabeth imposed an additional duty of one mark per tun on all French wines.§

It is not possible to estimate quite accurately

* Statutes of the Realm, Stat. 1 Mar. 5; Stat. 2, c. 18. No poundage charged on wine, in 1553.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 12 Ed. IV. Part I., m. 13.

‡ See *infra*, Chapter X.

§ Hubert Hall, A History of the Custom Revenue in England.

the total amount of duties and taxes levied on wine imported into England before the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the wholesale price of wine was fixed by authority at £12 per tun of Gascon wine, if the purchaser paid all the duties, or £14 13s. 4d. if these were paid by the seller.* The customs amounted, apparently, to £2 13s. 4d. per tun.

Taxes were also levied from those wine merchants who had derived some benefit from special measures taken for their safety and entailing an expense which it was thought just to lay to their charge. This appears, for instance, from the following Order of the Council to Peter Haughton, farmer of the imposts, and to his deputies in fifteen different ports. "Her Majesty, having received advertisements of some ships of war being prepared in Dunkirk, Newhaven, and the league towns, to surprise the ships of her subjects on their return from Bordeaux, Charente, or Rochelle, has set out two of her ships for their better defence; the charge is estimated at £1,282, which is to be taxed upon the goods of such as may be benefited thereby; therefore all ships bringing any wines into this realm before November 30th, 1592, from the dominions of the French King, shall rateably contribute and pay towards such charge."†

The subsidies, taxes, and additional duties levied on wine imported into England and, on the other hand, the privileges of certain towns, the exemptions granted by the monarch to noble and commoner alike whose loyalty or services deserved recognition,

* Letter Book Z, fos. 7b, 8, 9, 105b, 109, 262, etc., 22 and 25 Eliz., 1579, 1584.

† Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1591-1594, p. 286.

renders any approximate estimate of the yield of this branch of the national revenue well-nigh impossible.

When, during Elizabeth's reign, an enterprising financier proposed to farm the customs at a fixed yearly rental, his offer was readily accepted as the easiest, if not the best, means of introducing some measure of certainty in the revenue the Royal Exchequer was to derive from the different imposts on wine.

With the prevalent spirit of monopolies which is one of the characteristics of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we find the impost on French wines farmed out at a fixed rental, sometimes even to a different person than he who farmed the impost on Rhenish wine.

The farmer appointed deputies in the provinces to levy customs in the different out-ports; these deputies, instead of being paid for their pains, paid to obtain an office which they were expected to make yield a certain amount, a share in all the surplus being left to them. As the farmer of the Customs himself had never but a very limited time to remain in office, he and his personally-appointed deputies in all parts of England were anxious to make their office pay as rapidly as possible. Exactions and injustice were the natural consequences of this system, although some deputy-butlers tried a more ingenious method to swell their revenue by attracting merchants to the ports under their control by the promise of fair and generous treatment. A letter of Edward Tremain, deputy-butler of Devonshire, to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, throws much light on the extraordinary manner in which the collection of the customs was

carried out. After saying that he accepts the office, agreeing to pay for it £14, as his predecessor did, he continues thus: "I think it the best for both, for though some years it has not been worth 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.), some others it has been double that sum. It is difficult to state what is the value of the office, not having the books ; all depends on the use of it, and in dealing with the merchant, I very seldom took wine out of any ship, unless to serve myself or a friend, but compounded for ready money, showing him great favour in price and payment, and never crossed any favour that he could find at the other officers' hands at the Custom House ; for they account their sale of the rest almost defaced, when their best wines are taken from them ; and wine being a merchandise of no great gain when they have best favour, if they should have extremities showed them from all parties, it would make them forbear occupying, and this office would be little worth, which, Mr. A. Throckmorton considering, gave me instructions to deal as I did. Working after this sort, I made in money (above my £20 and pipe of wine yearly) the first year £120, when £30 might satisfy the Exchequer ; the next year about £200, when £60 would have paid the Exchequer ; the third year about £60 the Exchequer, near about £30. These years past all has arisen upon sack, more claret having been brought in this year than in the three former years. I offer to use it for you as you shall instruct, and out of what is made you shall be fully answered and paid at Easter and Michaelmas. I know nothing of Dorset and Somerset, but recommend my countryman, Peter Wilkes, for anything you commit to him. If you bind yourself so that you be restrained from showing the merchant

favour, you will either drive him from bringing wines or else to entering them in Cornwall or other ports out of your grant, making other offices more gainful than your own.”*

The competition for the farm of the customs was always keen and sometimes even very bitter. Thus, in March, 1595, when John Swinnerton, the then farmer of the imposts on French and Rhenish wines, approached the end of his contract, Alderman Haughton, his predecessor in that office, did all he could to discredit him and prevent him from remaining in charge. He circulated the news that the Spaniards were at hand, ready to intercept the fleet ready to sail for Bordeaux; he accused Swinnerton of keeping back a large quantity of wine, doing his best to prevent strangers from bringing wines in. Swinnerton wrote to the Queen, complaining of these unfair proceedings; he declared himself quite ready to give up his office at Michaelmas, but was willing to continue on the same terms as in the past if Her Majesty placed her confidence in him.† At the same time, Haughton also wrote to the Queen, asking that the said office be granted to himself, and offering to pay £10,000 a year rent for it, to provide 200 tuns of wine for the Queen’s household, and to make the usual allowances to the nobility to the extent of 1,050 tuns; in return, he asked for the grant of a ten years’ lease and a yearly commission to take wines in London, Southampton, and Chichester as before, at the Queen’s price of £9 per tun, unless the merchants compound for the same; he also asked

* Exeter, March 29th, 1565. Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Eliz., Addenda, Vol. XII.

† March 20th, 1595. Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1595-1597, p. 18.

that merchants be allowed to bring in wines in foreign bottoms when no English ships were available.*

This offer was rejected and the tender of Swinnerton, who only asked for a yearly grant, and increased the rent paid for the office to £13,000 a year, was accepted for the ensuing year.

Then an attempt was made to have the customs collected by Royal officers; this attempt does not appear to have lasted more than two years, 1597 and 1598, and was not successful, since the profit reaped by the Royal Exchequer in twelve months amounted to £10,592 12s. 11d., whilst the farmers of the customs had offered a yearly rent for the office of £13,000, besides 200 tuns of wine for the Queen's household.† This result was all the more disappointing considering that a merchant—Lawrence Smith—had been given £100 a year to survey and watch the quantities of wine which would be brought to London during that year and on which customs ought to be paid.‡

In 1598, the Exchequer was offered £14,000 yearly rent, and in 1599, £15,000, a tender which was readily accepted, since the Queen could not make the customs yield so much when she kept the farm in her own hands. The fault, however, must have rested entirely with the collectors appointed by the Queen either through corruption or ignorance. John Swinnerton, to whom the farm of the impost on French and Rhenish wines was again granted for the year 1599–1600, collected no less than £34,867 16s. 6d. duties on wines, in London alone, and during nine

* *Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1595–1597, p. 19. | † *Idem*, 1598–1601, p. 248.
 ‡ *Idem*, 1595–1597, p. 506.

months only, between September, 1599, and June, 1600. He paid to the Exchequer £20,405, including £15,000 for the yearly rental of his office; his net profit amounted to £14,462 16s. 6d., exclusive of all moneys collected at the outports.*

On July 20th, 1599, Bevis Bulmer wrote to the Queen as follows :—" The amount collected by John Cage, collector of the impost on French and Rhenish wines for the port of London, from Michaelmas, 1597, to Michaelmas, 1598, gives you a clear profit of £6,841 7s. 3d.; that by Sir Henry Billingsley, collector of the subsidy on wines, £911 7s.; and by the out-ports, £3,632 18s. 8d.; total, £11,385 12s. 11d. The collectors have had help that the farmers had not; £370 was saved this year in the bills of impost upon 200 tuns of wine, and the farmer allowed 10s. more upon every tun than the collectors, which amounts to £423, making £793, which, deducted from £11,385 12s. 11d. there had remained to your Majesty but £10,592 12s. 11d.; you were offered £13,000 rent by the farmers, so if the saving by the impost had not taken place you would have lost £2,407 7s. 1d., and, as less wine by 1,600 tuns is likely to come in this year, you will lose £1,500 more. If you please to grant the same in farm, you will have £14,000 a year and 200 tuns of good wine, and all bills of impost and other charges to pay, and there shall be £10,000 rent paid at Michaelmas next, and the other £4,000 next half year, but always beforehand." †

Representations and complaints respecting the

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1598-1601, pp. 446, 447. | † *Idem*, 1598-1601, pp. 248, 445.

arbitrary, corrupt or defective way customs on wine were collected, and the enormous losses entailed on this account by the Exchequer,* remained practically fruitless; it was left for the Stuarts to set this branch of the national finances on a more sound footing.

Gauge.—The gauger was a royal officer, whose duty consisted in ascertaining the contents of the tuns, casks and other vessels in which wine was brought to England. No wine was allowed to be sold before it had been lawfully gauged and bore the gauger's mark.

The Statute of 27 Edward III., cap. 8, as to the gauging of wine, was re-enacted by Henry IV.† and amplified on three distinct occasions by Henry VI. In 1423, the following Statute was enacted, the object of which was more particularly the lawful size of casks shipped from Bordeaux, which were alleged to hold less than in the past:—

“Whereas in old time it was ordained and lawfully used that tuns, pipes, tertians, hogsheads of Gascoign wine, etc., coming by way of merchandise into this land out of strange countries, and also made in the same land, should be of certain measure; that is to say, the tun of wine, 252 gallons; the hogshead, 63 gallons; nevertheless, by device and subtlety now late, such vessels have been of much less measure, to the great deceit and loss of the King and of his people, whereof special remedy was prayed in Parliament; it is ordained and stablished that no man, after the end of twelve months from the Feast of

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1601–1603, p. 144.

† 12 Hen. IV., April 24th, 1410, Letter Book I, fo. 78.

Easter next coming, shall bring into the realm of England, from what country soever it be, nor make within the same realm, a tun of wine except it contain of the English measure 252 gallons, the pipe, 126 gallons, and so after the rate the tertian and the hogshead of Gascony wine, upon pain of forfeiture of the same wine.”*

A few years after, this Statute was supplemented by the following :—

“ Because all the tuns, pipes, tierces, hogsheads of wine, etc., vendible within the realm of England ought and were wont, according to the ancient assize of the same realm, to contain a certain measure, that is to say, every tun twelve score and twelve gallons ; every pipe six score and six gallons ; every tertian four score and four gallons ; and every hogshead three score and three gallons ; and by divers Statutes it hath been ordained that the tuns and pipes of wine shall be gauged, but for the gauging of tuns and pipes of oil and honey, or of tertians or hogsheads of wine, no ordinance hath been made in certain before this time, to the great damage of the King and of his people, the King willing against this damage to provide a remedy in this behalf, hath granted and ordained by authority aforesaid, that from henceforth, all manner of tuns, pipes, tertians and hogsheads as well of wine as of oil and honey, to be sold within the realm, shall be well and lawfully gauged by the King’s gauger or by his deputy, before they be sold, upon pain to forfeit to the King all the wine, oil and honey contrary sold, or the value of same. The seller to allow the buyer any deficiency in the capacity

* Statutes of the Realm, Stat. 2 Hen. VI., cap. 14, 1423.

of the vessels sold, and the gauger to receive a penny per tun or pipe gauged.”*

Ten years later, another Statute was deemed necessary to decree that “the penny, which is called gauge penny, shall not be paid to the gauger nor to any other in his name, until he or his deputy hath gauged the wine. . . . and also that he or his deputy be ready to do the office of gauger in all places wherever required.”†

No further legislation on the matter occurs before the reign of Richard III., who sought to regulate the contents of the butts of Malmsey; the preamble of this Act contains information as to the price of this sort of wine in England, and other details which are sufficiently interesting to be reproduced here:—

“Complaint in Parliament that butts of Malvoisie used to be brought in *greate plentee* previous to the year 1449, which contained 140 gallons each, and some 132 gallons, and the smallest of them 126 gallons, and that a man might buy of the merchant strangers a butt of such wine for 50s. or 53s. at the most, to be paid two parts in woollen cloth and a third in cash. But now, by the craft of these merchant strangers, a butt of Malveseye barely holds 108 gallons; besides which, knowing how much of this wine is wanted in the realm, these merchant strangers only bring enough to last barely a year, so that they have enhanced the price to 8 marks (£5 6s. 8d.) ready money, and no cloth, to the great enriching of themselves and great deceit, loss, hurt, and damage of your

* Statutes of the Realm, Stat. 18 Hen. VI., cap. 17, 1439.

† *Idem*, Stat. 28 Hen. VI., cap. 15.

Sovereign Lord and of all your Commons of this your said realm. In consideration of which hurtes and damages aforesaid, and for the reformation of the same, please it Your Highness of your most bounteous and benign grace, by the advice and assent of your Lords spiritual and temporal, and of your Commons in this your present Parliament assembled, for to ordain, enact, and establish in this your present Parliament, and by authority of the same, that no manner of merchant nor other person, whatsoever he be, from the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, now next coming forward, bring nor cause to be brought into this realm any butt of Malvesey to be sold, but if it hold in measure at the least 126 gallons, nor any manner of vessel with any manner of wines, whatsoever they be, and of what country soever they be, nor any manner of vessels of oil, but if the vessels of those wines and oil contain and hold the assize and measures following, to wit :—

	Gallons.
Every tun to hold six score and six gallons - -	126
Every tercian to hold four score and four gallons -	84
Every hogshead to hold - - - - -	63
Every barrel to hold - - - - -	31½

according to the ancient assize and measures of the same vessels used within this realm. On arrival, all such vessels to be gauged by the Royal gauger before being sold, any shortage to be made good by the seller and the price to be fixed by authority ; the wine imported or sold otherwise than in accordance to the aforesaid regulations to be forfeited.”*

As regards the wines shipped from Bordeaux,

* Stat. 1 Ric. III., cap. 13, 1483. | 7, 1531, and Stat. 28 Hen. VIII., cap. Re-enacted Stat. 23 Hen. VIII., cap. | 14, 1536.

Rochelle, Nantes and Rouen, and Spanish wines, other than sweet, the legal measures were as follows :—

	Gallons.
The <i>Tun</i> to contain - - - - -	252
The <i>Pipe</i> to contain - - - - -	126
The <i>Puncheon</i> to contain - - - - -	84
The <i>Hogshead</i> to contain - - - - -	63
The <i>Tierce</i> to contain - - - - -	42

The uniform standards of measures for wines imported from different countries, and from various districts in each country, could not possibly be enforced, and the only security the purchaser had of getting the quantity of wine he paid for, was to have each cask duly gauged.

Some idea of the different sizes of the wine vessels used during the period under review may be gathered from the following table, the figures of which are chiefly based on the researches of M. le Vicomte d'Avenel :—

<i>Tun</i> :	Gallons.
At Bordeaux and Nantes - - - - -	284
„ Bergerac and Angoulême - - - - -	236
„ Soissons - - - - -	217
„ Montelimar - - - - -	163
„ Orleans - - - - -	139
„ Chartres - - - - -	117
„ Malmsey (in England) - - - - -	126
„ Other wines (in England) - - - - -	252
<i>Pipe</i> :	
Spanish (in Spain) - - - - -	175
At Bergerac - - - - -	160
„ Saintes - - - - -	182
„ Vin de Graves - - - - -	150
„ Bordeaux and Nantes - - - - -	142
Legal measure in England - - - - -	126

<i>Queue :</i>	Gallons.
Troyes - - - - -	215
Normandy - - - - -	151
Chablis - - - - -	120
Paris and Burgundy - - - - -	116
Champagne - - - - -	104
<i>Puncheon :</i>	
Legal measure in England - - - - -	84
At Orleans - - - - -	70
In Paris, Burgundy and Normandy - - - - -	58
„ Spain - - - - -	58
<i>Hogshead (Muid or Pièce) :</i>	
Legal measure in England, for all wines (sweet and otherwise) - - - - -	63
In Paris and Burgundy - - - - -	63 to 80
At Brives - - - - -	84
„ Soissons - - - - -	73
„ Lille - - - - -	66
„ Bergerac - - - - -	58
In Champagne - - - - -	52

Such differences led to endless litigation, which was usually settled either by the payment of a certain fine to the gauger, by way of a compromise, or through the intervention of some influential person at Court. In February 1595, M. Beauvoir La Nocle, the French Ambassador, wrote to the Earl of Essex, on behalf of a Frenchman called Le Fort, who had imported some wines from Spain in vessels which were not of the legal gauge.*

As regards German wines, the *ohm*, sometimes spelt *aulm*, *awme*, etc., was the standard measure, but it is difficult to ascertain what the contents of the ohm were, since its capacity appears to have varied greatly. German authors say that the ohm was about two-thirds of a hogshead,† or about 40

* MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield, Part V., p. 105.

† Sattler, *Handelsrechnungen des deutschen Ordens*, p. 44; Hirsch, *Danzigs Handelsgesichte*, p. 261.

gallons; according to the standard of Antwerp, a very important mart for the Rhenish wines sent to England, the ohm contained 35 gallons, whilst, according to that of Dordrecht, also an active centre of the export Rhenish wine trade, it contained 50 gallons.* In a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, in 1600, Bishop Bancroft writes that the ohm only contained 40 gallons.† The *piece* of Rhenish,‡ or the *butt* of 36 gallons,§ were evidently names given in England to the *ohm*, and not denoting a different sized cask.

Rhenish wine was also imported in larger vessels, principally in *fattes* or *vats*, holding five ohms, which are frequently mentioned in the reports of the searchers of wine appointed to examine the stock in City cellars every year.|| According to Bishop Bancroft, however, the *vat* or *Fatte* only contained three ohms, or 120 gallons.¶

Larger than the *fatte* was the *rood*, which, according to the standard of Antwerp, contained 10 ohms or 500 gallons, and, according to that of Dordrecht, held 14 ohms, or 490 gallons.**

Rhenish wine was also sold by the *rundlet*, a measure which usually held about 10 gallons,†† but sometimes more and sometimes less.

The *bode*‡‡ was probably equivalent to the

* Arnold's Chronicle, p. 190.

† Salisbury MSS., Part 10, pp. 245, 246.

‡ Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1595-1597, p. 432.

§ Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., A.D. 1443.

|| Letter Book X, fo. 258, A.D. 1573; Letter Book Y, fo. 115, A.D. 1575; fo. 191b, A.D. 1577; Letter Book Z, fo. 109, A.D. 1580; fo. 185, A.D. 1581; fol. 267, A.D. 1582. *Fattes* are sometimes called *tuns* in the Letter Books, see Letter Book Y,

fo. 281b, A.D. 1578; Letter Book Z, fo. 13b, A.D. 1579.

¶ Salisbury MSS., Part 10, pp. 245, 246.

** "The rood of reynysh wyne of Dordrecht is x awames, and every awme is l galons. Item, the rood of Andwarp is xiiii awmes, and every awme is xxxv galons."—Arnold's Chronicle, pp. 189, 190.

†† Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 388.

‡‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 2 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 12, A.D. 1461.

sextary,* which, judging from the price it was sold at, must have held 4 gallons.

As to the *barrelles* of Rhenish mentioned in 1502,† it is hard to say what they held. By retail, Rhenish wine was usually sold by the gallon, a measure which seems to have been much the same as the German *stubchen*.‡

In 1582, the vintners of Salisbury were charged by the Mayor with selling wine according to measures other than those which were then legal; they appealed to the Council and some of them were summoned to London to argue the point. They soon got very tired of wasting their time in the metropolis to no advantage, and they asked the Queen to be allowed to return home and to continue selling their wines by their usual measures until London and Bristol had tried the case. They (the Salisbury vintners) wished to be excused from arguing the point of gauging and measuring, but were ready to accept the standards of London and Bristol, and of all those places by the sea-coast from London to Southampton and Poole, by which gauge and measure all wines were bought and customs paid, and which agreed with the measures by which wine was sold, from London to Oxford, and to Bristol, and in all places fifty miles round, and from time out of mind. If it should be altered, Her Majesty would lose the custom of one tun in eight, and no wine could be brought into the realm, but would all be forfeited, because the tun must contain 252 gallons, which no cask ever contained by the ale gallon.§

* Thorold Rogers, Vol. III., p. 514, A.D., 1495; Wardrobe Accounts of Elizabeth Tudor, A.D. 1532.

† Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, p. 48, A.D. 1502.

‡ Kohl, *Der Ratsweinkeller* in

Bremen, p. 244. 45 *stübchen* to 1 ohm.

§ Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Eliz., Addenda, Vol. XXVII., No. 131; also Vol. CLVI., p. 18.

CHAPTER IV.

THE sale of wine in England was regulated by many legislative and municipal ordinances with a view to protect the retailer and the consumer alike. Merchants were protected from unfair competition by the grant of extensive privileges to their association or guild, the Vintners' Company; the consumer was equally protected from unscrupulous dealers by the obligation of all persons selling wine to obtain a licence, by the limitation of the price at which wine was to be retailed and by the vigilant official supervision of the quality of the wine offered for sale.

During the latter part of the fourteenth and the whole of the fifteenth century, the right to sell Gascon wine belonged to all members of the Vintners' Company. This ancient Company played a sufficiently important part in the early history of the London wine trade to deserve more than a passing notice.

Early in the fourteenth century, during the reign of Edward II., the Bordeaux wine merchants trading with England, formed themselves into a sort of confederation for the greater security and better regulation of their trade. They were commonly called the Merchant-Wine-Tonnors of Gascoyne, but did not form a sanctioned or articulated

Company. Their agreements were purely private, to some being entrusted the care of recovering all moneys remaining due after the departure of the sellers; to others, was confided the charge of obtaining from the King's Council advantageous privileges or the renewal of these at the accession of every new monarch, all the expenses thus incurred being paid equally by all the merchants. Many of these men, chosen by their fellows for their energy and intelligence, attained high distinction in England, where they were not considered as foreigners, being Gascon subjects of the King.

Thus, we saw how William Trente, a native of Bergerac, became the King's Butler and Chamberlain of the City, whilst John Adrian, Henry Picard and several others became Mayors of London.*

The Merchant-Wine-Tonnors of Gascoigne were originally divided into two classes, the importers and retailers, *vinetarii* and *tabernarii*, the former selling their wines wholesale or leaving it to the *tabernarii* or retailers to dispose of for their account. But this did not last long, as the London municipal authorities forced the Gascons to submit to their regulations, excluding all but citizens of London from the right to sell wine by retail in London and the liberties thereof. After an unsuccessful attempt to assert their own privileges against those of the City, the Gascons arrived at a friendly working arrangement with the Londoners by the formation of an association of London Vintners comprising Londoners and Gascons who obtained

* During the reign of Edward III. four vintners were elected Mayors of London, viz. :—Reginald de Conductu (1334), John de Oxenford (1341), Sir Henry Pycard (1356), Sir John Stodeye (1357). Sir William More, vintner, was Mayor in 1395; Sir James Spencer, vintner, in 1527; and Sir Cuthbert Buckle, vintner, in 1593.

the freedom of the City. The importing vintners were sacrificed, a fact which was obviously bound to result sooner or later owing to the rapid growth of the Flemish and Genoese merchant shipping, to which so large a share of the carrying trade was soon to fall. The resident vintners still retained the former distinction of *vinetarii*, those who sold wholesale or financed retailers, and the *tabernarii*, or retailers who kept a tavern or a cellar on their own account.

Articles of association and letters of incorporation are not in existence to show that the vintners had thus organised themselves in London in the earlier part of the fourteenth century for the better defence of their rights against the pretensions of a grasping Corporation, and the more profitable prosecution of their trade ; but other documents exist which prove beyond a doubt the existence of a well-defined organisation known in 1328, if not before, as the Mystery of the Vintners. In that year (2 Edward III.) we find in the Letter Books of the City of London the following vintners amongst those elected and *sworn in divers misteries of London, for the government and instruction of the same*, viz. : — Reginald de Conduit, John de Oxenford, Henry de Gisors, who were all to become Mayors of London ; Richard de Rothyng, Alderman, Michael Mignot, Edmund Cosyn, William le Gaugeour, Stephen de Bercote, Bartholomew de Honylane, Henry le Palmere, Reginald de Thorpe, Robert de Lynne, Thomas Cros.*

Three years later, in 1331, the names of the Vintners recorded at the Guildhall are more

* Letter Book E, fo. 190b.

numerous, including some "taverners," for the first time.*

It was not, however, until July 15th, 1364, that the Vintners obtained royal letters patent forbidding anyone meddling with their trade "unless enfranchised in the mistery."† This charter, entitled *Ample Liberties for the Vintners of London*, did not merely regulate their trade, as alleged by Strype, who, in this, contradicts Stow; "it is as much an incorporation charter as any granted to the other great livery companies at the time."‡

It practically gave the London Vintners the monopoly of the retail trade in the metropolis, as far as Gascon wines were concerned; the Gascons were forbidden to sell the wine they imported, otherwise than wholesale, by the tun or pipe. By this charter the members of the Vintners' Company were invested with the right of trade search to ascertain whether the wines offered for sale within the City were sound and wholesome. They were to choose, each year, four of their members, amongst those who did not keep a tavern, to be presented to and sworn before the Lord Mayor, and in them was vested a very considerable authority; these four experts not only advised the municipal authorities

* Letter Book E, fo. 221b. John de Oxon, Richard de Rothinge, Michael Mignot, Edmund Cosyn, Henry le Palmere, Reginald de Thorpe, Adam de Burgoyne, Alan atte Conduyt, John de Wyght, Thomas Hautayn, Alexander de Burgoyne, Stephen atte Conduyt, Walter le Tableter, Richard de Essex, John Wroth, John Hablont, William de Stanes, Richard Sterre, Frank atte Brokenselde, Nicholas le Blake, Simon le Taverner near le

Stockes, John Turgiz, John de Cliftone, William de Croidone, Nicholas Ponge, John de Tackele, William Isamberd, Richard de Pelham, John le Taverner de Bredstretende, Cambin Fulbert, Nicholas de Bristoll, Benedict de Suffolk.

† 38 Ed. III., Letter Book G, fo. 127b. Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. III., Part II., pp. 742-743.

‡ Herbert, *The Great Livery Companies of London* Vol. II, p. 627.

as regards the price at which wine was to be retailed in taverns, but they were empowered to correct and amend defaults they detected in the exercise of the craft, and to inflict fines according to their good advice or judgment.*

The jurisdiction and influence that the members of the Vintners' Company came to enjoy as a result of this charter were very considerable, but do not appear to have been abused, since most of its provisions were either renewed or amplified from time to time.

In 1370, for instance, the Vintners obtained the assent of the Mayor and Court of Aldermen to certain regulations for tavern keepers, involving wide powers of search and inspection, and considerable amercement in cases of contumacy or fraud.†

Again, in August, 1377, an ordinance was made by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council to the effect that "the good and trusty men of the Mistery of Vintners appraised wine sold by retail in taverns, and place a distinctive mark on the several vessels according to the quality of the wine they contain, that certain servants of the mistery be permitted to search tavern cellars, and see the wine drawn."‡

In 1422, a royal ordinance, which was confirmed in 1427, received the assent of Parliament, and was practically a repetition of the Statute of 37 Edward III., cap. 5. It enacted that "no Englishman shall go to Gascony or elsewhere, to buy wine or bring it to England unless he be free of the mistery of the vintry in London, or be experienced

* See Letter Book G, fos. 127b and 129.

† Hazlitt, *The Livery Companies of the City of London*, p. 318.

‡ Letter Book H, fo. 73.

in the mistery, and known to be of it, in other cities, boroughs or towns. Merchants of Gascony and other foreigners may bring wine to England, but may not sell it by retail there; no private person or stranger, after having brought wine to England, may export it again without special leave of the King. The said merchants of the mistery of the merchandize of wine are to elect yearly four of their number, not being tavern keepers, to survey the trade in London, and in each town where the mistery is used. The merchant vintners of England may export cloth to Gascony, and the Gascon merchants who bring wine to England may buy dry fish of the counties of Cornwall and Devon, and herring and cloth from elsewhere in England and take them to Gascony. Wine must be landed above London Bridge, at the Vintry, for the convenience of the King's butler, gauger and searchers. No merchant or other denizen or foreigner shall buy or sell wine, cloth, fish or herrings otherwise than as aforesaid."*

It was only ten years later, on August 23rd, 1437, that the Mistery of Vintners of London was formally incorporated, receiving the ordinary privileges and endowments as to perpetual succession, the right of using a common seal and of pleading and being impleaded in all courts, the title to appoint a governing body of four masters or wardens, and a licence in mortmain to the extent of £20 a year.† This incorporation was followed, in 1447, by the grant of arms to the Mistery.

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 6 Hen. VI., Part I., m. 24. November 8th, 1427.

† The style of the guild was "The Freemen of the Mistery of Vintners

of the City of London." Hazlitt, *The Livery Companies of London*, p. 320. See the full text of the charter of incorporation of 1437 in the Appendix, p. 296.

The power and influence of the Vintners' Company in London had been gradually rising during the fourteenth century; in the earlier part of the fifteenth century this progress was stopped, and unmistakable signs of decadence made their appearance some fifty years later.

It must not be forgotten that the privileges and rights granted to the freemen of the Mystery of Vintners were limited to the trade in Gascon wines.

The sale of German, Levant or Spanish wines was regulated by special ordinances and according to certain treaties of reciprocity entered into between England and Flanders, Spain or Venice. Both the royal and municipal authorities had always carefully kept the sale of German or sweet wines outside the pale of the Vintners' jurisdiction. Thus, in 1369, Edward III. ordered formally that Rhenish wine should not be kept in the same taverns as Gascon white wine,* so that the searchers appointed by the Vintners could not interfere; a similar prohibition, respecting the sale of sweet wines, had been issued as far back as 1353.† In 1365, the London municipality took into their own hands the retail sale of sweet wines in a few special taverns under their own supervision.‡ This attempt, however, having proved most unsuccessful, it was agreed to issue licences for the sale of sweet wines to any freeman of the city, or even to foreigners, who were ready to pay for that privilege the price fixed by the Corporation.

Such licences and the privileges of the merchants of the Steelyard, who claimed to have the right

* Letter Book G. fo. 238b.
November 1st, 1369.

† *Idem*, fo. 2b. January, 1353.
‡ *Idem*, fo. 157. May 28th, 1365.

For reperacons of the Nauee.

Item in the sayd parliament/ it was called to remem-
braunce of the grete myrrysshynge and decaye/ that hath be-
nold of late tyme of the nauye wythin this reame of Eng-
londe. and Idlenessse of the maryners wythin the same. bi the
whiche this noble reame. within short processe of tyme wyth-
out reformation he had therin. shall not be of habylite and
powber to defende it selfe. Wherefore at the prayer of the sa-
yd compnes/ the kyng our souereyne lord by the aduise
of the lordes spirytuell and temporell in this sayd present
parliament assembled. and by auctorite of the same/ It is
enacted ordeyned and establisshed/ that noo maner of persone
of what degre or condycion that he be of. bye nor selle wyth-
in this sayd reame/ Irlonde. Wales calays/ or the marches
therof. or Berwyk. from the fest of Myghelmas next nold
comynge. ony maner wyne of the growynge of the duchie
of Guyen or of Gascoygne/ but such wyne as shalle
be auentured and brought in an Englyssh / Iryssh or
Wallyssh mannysh hyppre or shyppre/ And
that the maryners of the same englyssh Iryssh or Wallysh

STATUTE I, HEN. VII. CAP. 8.

The earliest printed Statute concerning the Wine Trade.

(Facsimile from Caxton's Statutes of Henry VII.)

A.D. 1489.

to sell Rhenish wine in London, did not affect the prosperity and power of the Vintners' Company so long as the importance of the Bordeaux wine trade with England remained paramount, as it had been during the reigns of Edward III. and his immediate successors ; but after the loss of Guienne and Gascony, this branch of the English wine trade, which had so long eclipsed all others, suffered to a very large extent, whilst other French as well as German, Spanish and Levant wines, became more popular.

The Vintners, whose prestige and means had decreased during the commercial crisis which followed the loss of the French provinces and the wars of the Roses, failed, at first, to secure a renewal of their ancient privileges from Henry VII. This monarch allowed all his subjects to go to Gascony for wines, and only prohibited the sale of those Bordeaux wines which were imported in foreign bottoms,* even if such wines belonged to freemen of the Vintners' Company.

It was not until 1508 that Henry VII. consented to renew the ancient privileges of the Vintners' Company by the grant of an *inspeximus* of Henry VI.'s charter.

On January 20th, 1530, the most complete ordinance regulating the wine trade in England was issued, covering no less than thirteen full folios of one of the great Letter Books of the Guildhall, in which it is clearly stated that all freemen of the Livery Companies were free to retail wine in London.†

The Vintners' Company made a determined

* Statutes of the Realm, 1 Hen. VII., cap. 8 ; 4 Hen. VII., cap. 10. See Appendix.

† Letter Book O, fo. 206, *et seq.*

stand to oppose, during the reign of Queen Mary, the inimical legislation directed against them, which dictated the patents of May 22nd and September 30th, 1553, and March 26th, 1554. They eventually succeeded in obtaining the grant of a charter recognising most of their former privileges, on July 30th, 1558;* it was not, however, before November, 1566, that a Bill was sanctioned repealing the Act of 7 Edward VI. (1553), and granting full liberty to the London Vintners to buy and sell wine wherever they pleased.† The Vintners obtained two charters from Queen Elizabeth on May 17th, 1567, and on October 12th, 1576, whilst a very important ordinance, in 1583, fixed and regulated their trade in the minutest details. Much stress was laid in this ordinance on the licensing question; no Vintner was to be allowed to keep more than one tavern, and the magistrates were “to see that the number of such taverns do not inordinately exceed” the requirements of the time. At the same time the Vintners were entrusted with the duty to watch and report how the Queen’s commandments were kept by all persons selling wine.‡

During the reign of Henry VII. and throughout the sixteenth century, any person was free to retail wine that had obtained a licence from the municipal authorities, whose duty it was to ascertain that the applicants had served a sufficient term of apprenticeship to be conversant with matters pertaining to the trade they wished to take up. Freemen of the Vintners’ Company, however, were not under the necessity of obtaining such a licence, since the first condition

* See in the Appendix the texts of these patents and charters.
 † Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1580, p. 283.

‡ Letter Book Z, fos. 117-119. See the complete text in the Appendix.

of their eligibility for the Company was that they should have been apprenticed to a Vintner and thus learned their trade.*

Such licences were also granted directly by the monarch, and, unfortunately, without enforcing the stipulated apprenticeship.

Thus, in 1583, Queen Elizabeth granted licences for the retail of wine in London to two drapers, one mercer, two grocers, nine merchant-tailors, four haberdashers, four cloth-workers, three fishmongers, one chandler, one dyer, one salter, one cook, two coopers, two girdlers, and the widow of a barber surgeon.†

Elizabeth granted a great many such licences, patents, and monopolies,‡ and although she renewed the Vintners' Charter in 1567, and again in 1577, she prefaced the latter with a statement which must have been very distasteful to the Company, to the effect that everyone was free "to pursue such lawful calling whereby he may gain his living, as is most agreeable to his choice or taste." At the same time she repeated and amplified a decree of Henry VIII. to the effect that every freeman of the City of London, and the widows of such, were free to sell wine "in London or Westminster, Southwark, and the liberties of our Duchy of Lancaster without Temple Bars in London."§

* The right of a freeman of the Vintners' Company to sell wine in London without being at the mercy of the licensing magistrates is the last practical privilege which is still enjoyed by freemen of this Company.

† Letter Book Z, fo. 119. See Appendix, p. 298.

‡ Up to Michaelmas, 1600, the Earl of Essex appears to have

possessed the licence for sweet wines. (Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1598-1601, Nos. 477, 479.) In February, 1592, it was decreed that none could sell wine without a licence, to be obtained from the Queen, and the proceeds of which to be given to the Clerks of the Signet and Privy Seal. (*Idem*, 1591-1594, p. 195.)

§ Letter Book Z, fo. 176b, 19 Eliz.

The *rôle* played by the Vintners' Company, whose authority was continually traversed and curtailed by the grant of licences to independent persons, became more and more administrative. Vintners still helped the municipal authorities carry into effect royal ordinances as to the price of wine and, generally speaking, were entrusted by the Corporation with a large share of the policing of the wine trade, particularly as regards the sale of wine in taverns; but they never recovered the preponderance which they had enjoyed at the close of the fourteenth century.

The experience, the reputation, the knowledge, and the wealth of most of the freemen of the Vintners' Company rendered their advice and co-operation invaluable for the grant of licences and the proclamation of ordinances regulating the wine trade in London, but the freemen of any of the other Livery Companies, who held licences for the sale of wine, were always called, on any such occasion, before the Mayor and Aldermen, to co-operate with their fellow-freemen of the Vintners' Company before any decision affecting the sale of wine was arrived at. They were also entrusted, as well as the Vintners, with the duty of enforcing the proper execution of royal ordinances and municipal proclamations affecting the wine trade.

This is made absolutely clear by the following entry in Letter Book Z in the Guildhall:—

“March 23rd, 25 Elizabeth (1582): Item this day upon the reading of the petition exhibited to this Court (Mayor's) by the master and wardens of the Company of Vintners of this city, and certain other persons using to sell and retail wines within the

same city and the freedom and liberties thereof, it was ordered, enacted and decreed by the same Court, that Sir Rowland Howard, Knight, and such Aldermen as he shall call unto him, the master and wardens of the same Company for the time being, and such other four, three or two discreet and able freemen of other companies which now are or hereafter shall be authorised by virtue of Her Majesty's letters patent to retail wines, shall in the Lord Mayor's name from time to time send for all such person or persons as do sell wine by retail within this City and the freedom and liberties of the same, or near adjoining to the same, and to examine them whether that they be lawfully warranted so to do, and thereof to inform the Court that order may be taken by the same according to Her Majesty's commandment in that behalf, and also that they the said master, wardens and others aforementioned shall cause all such orders and ordinances as have heretofore by this Court been decreed and set down in the Repertory touching retailers of wine to be duly and strictly executed in all points ; and that such of the said persons retailing wine as shall be sent for in the Lord Mayor's name, by Henry Byron, the officer for that purpose appointed, and shall refuse to come upon lawful warning to them given, shall by the same officer be forthwith committed to ward into one of the compters of this city upon the Lord Mayor's commandment and thereof to make his honour privy ; and that in all cases of refusal by any person to obey the executing the said ordinance, the said master and wardens to inform this Court thereof and to pray the aid of the same for order therein to be taken."*

* Letter Book Z, fo. 300.

As a rule, licences for the retail of wine in England were only granted to natives, but there are some instances on record of foreigners being given this privilege. Thus, on October 14th, 1555, Peter Maria de Bolonia la Grassa, keeper of a garden belonging to the Italian merchants in London, was granted a licence for the sale of wine.*

To judge from the numerous fines imposed for selling Rhenish wine without a licence, during the reign of Henry VIII., it is probable that this monarch had ordered that a special permit be taken by those who retailed this kind of wine. In 1515, nine taverners were fined 3s. 4d. each, at one time, for that offence.† In 1520, the merchants of the Steelyard having been forbidden to sell wine, especially Rhenish, by retail, without a licence, they came to the Lord Mayor's Court and promised to bring in a book of the grant of this privilege obtained from Edward IV., which, they said, had been confirmed by Act of Parliament.‡

The price at which wine was to be retailed was proclaimed by order of each succeeding Mayor soon after his assumption of office, usually in November, but sometimes only in December. As a rule a price was fixed for sweet wines of all descriptions double that of the Gascon, Rochelle and other French wines, whilst the price of Rhenish was often left out.

Thus, in 1409, whilst the price of Gascon, Rochelle, red or white (vermaylle or blank) wines, was fixed at 6d. per gallon, that of Malvesie, Romeney

* Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 796.

† Letter Book M, 4 Hen. VIII., fos. 198, 199b; Letter Book N,

7 Hen. VIII., fo. 56; Letter Book N, 10 Hen. VIII., fo. 100b.

‡ Letter Book N, fo. 150b, 12 Hen. VIII.

and Bastard was fixed at a shilling.* These prices were maintained the following year, the only alteration being the addition of "and all other sweet wines" in the shilling tariff.† In 1414, the same assize was kept, but a further addition ordained the price of Oseye to be 10d. per gallon.‡ In 1416, the price of Gascon and Rochelle wines was raised to 7d. per gallon.§

In 1420 the Commons asked that no wine of Malvesie, Romeney, or any other sweet wine, be sold by retail in England under pain of 100s. fine to the King for each cask, and confiscation of the price of the wine. They further asked that no Gascon wine be allowed to be sold at more than 6d. per gallon, under pain of a fine of £6 per cask and confiscation, and no Rhenish or Rochelle wine for more than 4d. per gallon, under the same penalty.||

In 1422, the price of Gascon and Rochelle wines was fixed again at 6d. per gallon, and that of all sweet wines at 12d.¶ Nearly a century later, in 1513, the cost of the gallon of Red, Claret or White Gascony, Rochelle and French wines had risen to 8d., whilst the price of Malmsey and Bastard** remained stationary at 12d., that of Muscadell, however, being fixed at 16d. per gallon.††

In 1515, in 1517, and again in 1530, the retail price of Rhenish wine was fixed at 10d. per gallon.‡‡ In 1522, the price of Gascon wine remained fixed at 8d.

* Letter Book I, fo. 76b.

† *Idem*, fo. 96b.

‡ *Idem*, fo. 133.

§ *Idem* fo. 185b.

|| MS3. Harl., No. 442, Art. 118, fo. 219 recto.

¶ Letter Book K, fo. 10b.

** There is in the text Malmsey, Bastard and *Fimoy*, but I have been unable to find out what *Fimoy* was.

†† Letter Book M, fos. 208, 219b, 226.

‡‡ Letter Book N, fos. 1b, 55b; and Letter Book O, fos. 122, 123.

per gallon, and that of Malmsey at 12d. but the price of Romeney and all other sweet wines was raised to 16d. per gallon.* The 8d. per gallon rate for Gascon, Rochelle, and other French wines was repeatedly re-enacted in 1527, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1536, 1538, and 1552.† The price of Rhenish wine was raised to 12d. per gallon in 1538 and 1539,‡ and that of all sweet wines was still fixed at a shilling per gallon in 1532, 1536, and 1538,§ Sack being allowed to be sold at 15d. in 1538.||

The very slight advances taking place in the official retail price of wine and the uniform standard maintained for considerable periods are all the more remarkable when one considers the wide fluctuations taking place in the cost of wine sold wholesale, at a time when no large stocks nor reserves could be kept, so that the selling price of wine, as the cost of the grapes and of the wine at the vintage, was bound to vary from year to year according to more or less successful seasons.

It took, however, many years before the Vintners could make the authorities grasp this and realise how arbitrary and altogether unjust it was to force the retailer to sell at a fixed rate the wine he bought at widely different prices from year to year. Although they were unable to obtain the permission to sell their wines at their own discretion, they gained an important point when it was decided in the Royal Council that henceforth the wholesale as well as the retail price of wine should be fixed by authority.

* Letter Book N, fo. 184.

† Letter Book N, fo. 290b; Letter Book O, fos. 174b, 237; Letter Book P, fo. 131b. Stat. 23 Hen. VIII., cap. 7; Stat. 7 Ed. VI., cap. 5; 28 Hen. VIII., cap. 14.

‡ Letter Book P, fos. 131b, 171b.

§ Stat. 23 Hen. VIII., cap. 7; Stat. 28 Hen. VIII., cap. 14. Letter Book P, fo. 131b.

|| Letter Book P, fo. 131b.

Unfortunately, the office of fixing the price at which wine was to be sold wholesale throughout England, was entrusted to the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the King's Council, the Lord Privy Seal, and the two Chief Justices, men who, whatever their personal merits, were ill qualified to act as arbitrators in the matter. It was decreed that these men should have power and authority to fix the wholesale price of wine at their discretion, by causing a proclamation to be made in all cities, towns, and boroughs. This proclamation was to be made and enforced by the mayor, sheriffs, and bailiffs of all cities, towns, and boroughs, and the wine sold contrary to the assize thus proclaimed, was to be forfeited.*

This innovation, which had the betterment of the retailers' condition in view, was very ungraciously received by them as well as strongly opposed by the wholesale dealers. In the following year, when Parliament met (1532-3), the reports of the royal and municipal officers, who confessed their inability to enforce such a universally condemned measure, led to further and more stringent legislation, embodied in the following Statute :—

“ Because that divers merchants inhabiting the city of London have of late not only presumed to bargain and sell in gross to divers of the King's subjects great quantities of wine of Gascony and Guyenne and French wines, some for five pounds the tun, some for more, and some for less, and so after the rate of excessive prices, contrary to the form and effect of a good and laudable Statute thereof lately made in this present Parliament,

* Stat. 23 Hen. VIII., cap. 7.

that is to say contrary to and above the prices set by the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the King's Council, the Lord Privy Seal, etc., they have therefore fallen into the penalties provided by the said Statute. But also having in their hands and possession great abundance of wine by them acquired and bought to be sold, they obstinately and maliciously, since their said attempts and defaults proved, have refused to bargain and sell to many of the King's subjects any of the said wine remaining and being in their hands, purposing and intending thereby for their own singular and unreasonable lucre and profits, to have larger and higher prices of their said wines, to be set according to their insatiable appetites and minds; it is therefore ordained and enacted by authority of the present Parliament, that every merchant and other person now having, or which hereafter shall have, wine to be sold, and refusing to sell or deliver, or not selling any of the same wines for ready money therefore to be paid according to the price and prices thereof being set, shall forfeit and lose the value of the wine so required to be bought.

“And furthermore it is enacted that it shall be lawful for all and singular justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, and the head officers and governors of shires, cities, boroughs, towns, and in other places of the realm, within precincts and limits of their office from the last day of April, 1533, at the desire and request of any of the King's subjects, to whom any *denyer* of sale or from whom any restraint of sale of any such wine shall be made, to enter into the houses, cellars, and other places where such wine shall lie or be, and to sell and deliver the same wine or wines

desired to be bought to the person or persons requiring or desiring to buy the same, taking of the buyer of the same wine or wines to be sold, to the use or satisfaction of the forfeiture aforesaid, after the rate of the prices thereof now being set or hereafter to be set as is aforesaid.

“Provided always that at the time of any such sale of wine purposed to be made, the merchant vintners or other owner or owners thereof do truly, fully and manifestedly declare and show to the said justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs and other head officers, purposing to make the said sale by virtue of this Act, what and how much quantity and sorts of wine he shall have, and affirm, and depose upon his bodily oath, that he keeps and retains the said wine to the intent only to draw and expend the same in his own house, by retail or otherwise, and not to sell the said wines nor any of them in gross; in this case he may be allowed to keep it. But if he should sell it in gross, that is by the tun, butt, tierce, pipe, hogshead, barrell, or roundlet, he shall forfeit and lose the double value of all such wines sold in gross.

“Provided always that this Act extend not to take effect in any shire of this realm, other than in the city of London and within three miles compass of the same, before the last day in July, 1533, unless that in the meantime this Statute be openly proclaimed in some open fair or market within the same shire, where before the said last day of July it shall happen to be put in execution.”*

In 1536, when the maximum wholesale price of

* Statutes of the Realm. Stat. 24 Hen. VIII., cap. 6.

Gascon and French wines had been fixed at £4 per tun, the above Statute was re-enacted and proclaimed, and the Statute of 1 Richard III., cap. 13, as well as all former ordinances as to gauging, were at the same time revived.*

In November, 1539, the wholesale price of Gascon and French wines was raised to £5 per tun,† to be lowered again the following year to £4 for the *best* of such wines; others that might be “small and thin” were to be sold by private agreement.‡

In December, 1541, the price of the best Gascon or French wine was fixed at £5 for the ensuing year, and to 13 nobles (£4 6s. 8d.) for wine of inferior quality.§ In 1544, the assize price of the best Gascon wine was raised to £8, and that of French wine to £6 per tun.|| Later, and until 1553, the maximum wholesale price of Gascon and French wines appears to have remained fixed at £5 per tun.¶

There is, however, every reason to believe that this low price was seldom strictly enforced, and that the officers whose duty it was to carry out the drastic measures provided by the Statutes of 1532 and 1536 were either bribed by the merchants into a tacit complicity, or else they realised that their task was an impossible one and could only ruin the wine trade in England if carried out to the letter. This fact seems evident from the complaints of retailers that they could not purchase their wines wholesale at the assize price, and the consequent instructions and ordinances reiterating the penalties

* Statutes of the Realm. Stat. 28 Hen. VIII., cap. 14.

† Letter Book P, fos. 172b, 173.

‡ *Idem*, fos. 200, 200b.

§ Letter Book Q, fo. 42b, and

Gairdner, Hen. VIII., Vol. XVI., Nos. 1393, 1419.

|| Gairdner, Hen. VIII., Vol. XIX., Part I., No. 537.

¶ Letter Book R, fo. 171b.

previously enacted against Vintners and others who either sold wine in bulk above the fixed price or refused to sell it at all.

A further Statute to that effect was enacted in 1542-43, which is of special interest on account of the detailed prices given of different kinds of wines. Referring to the last legislation on the subject (Stat. 28 Hen. VIII., cap. 14), and confirming the same, the new Statute goes on to say :—

“ Since the making of which Act, such persons as did retail wine within the said cities, boroughs, towns and other places within the realm, bought of the best wine of Gascony for £4 13s. 4d. the tun, at the most, of the best French wine for £4 the tun ; Malmseys, for £4 the butt ; Bastards, £3 6s. 8d. the pipe ; Sackes and Romeneyes, 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) the butt at the most ; the casks and vessels containing the said wines being full gauged so that upon the retailing thereof again they might sell the same wines at the prices limited in the said Act, and had competent living for their wives, children, family and household, since which time the said retailers of wines cannot buy any good Gascon wine, unless they do pay to the merchants for the same after the rate of £7 or £8 the tun, at the least, and every tun of French wine £6 at the least ; Malmsey, £5 the butt ; Sacks and Romeneyes, £4 10s. ; Bastards, £5 per pipe or £5 6s. 8d.

“ And where the pipe of Bastard should contain as much as doeth Sack, but the same pipe doeth want of the same contents twenty gallons at the least and yearly wanteth more and more, and also the Malmsey butt should contain as much as the butt of Sack should do, the Malmsey butt likewise wanteth of his (*sic*) true content twelve or sixteen

gallons, and albeit the buyer of the said wines may, by the said Act of Parliament, allow themselves upon the payment of their money for the same, yet the merchant in no wise will sell his wine, unless the buyer do indent promise and covenant with the said merchant, and otherwise bind themselves that they shall take no advantage of the Act of Gauging.

“For all of which causes, your supplicants cannot sell and retail the said kinds of wine at such price and prices as is in the said Act expressed and live upon the same, but be thereby utterly impoverished and undone, unless other remedy be speedily provided. In tender consideration whereof, and also for what the wines called Muskadells is (*sic*) reputed and taken for sweet wine and ought to be retailed at such price as other wines called sweet wines mentioned in the said Act, the retailer cannot buy that kind of wine under £15 or £16 the tun.

“For reformation of the above, officers empowered by the said Act to set the price of wine sold in gross, may in like manner have authority and power to mitigate and enhance the price of wines hereafter to be sold by retail as often as time and occasion will require, anything contained in the former Act to the contrary notwithstanding.”*

It was further ordained, in 1545, that the price of wine should be fixed every year between November 20th and December 31st, under penalties provided by the Statute of 28 Henry VIII., cap. 11.†

None of the numerous Acts and Statutes which had attempted to regulate the price of wine of England before the reign of Edward VI., was so drastic

* Statutes of the Realm. Stat. 34 and 35 Hen. VIII., cap. 7. | † *Idem*, Stat. 37 Hen. VIII., cap. 23.

or impracticable as that which received the royal sanction during the seventh year of the reign of this monarch (1553), called, "An Acte to avoyde the greate price and excesse of wyne."*

Like all excessive measures, this Act defeated its own ends, and the scare it caused in the trade resulted in a general advance of prices, which forced even the Lords of the Council, whose task it was to fix the maximum legal price of wine, to raise this to £6 6s. 8d. per tun, for French and Gascon wines, in 1554.† Wine remained expensive throughout the following reign, and its price rose rapidly during that of Queen Elizabeth. In 1566, when the Act of 7 Edward VI., "to avoid the great prices of wine," was repealed,‡ the price of French and Gascon wines was fixed at £7 6s. 8d. per tun wholesale, and 1s. a gallon by retail.§ In 1572, the price of the tun had been raised £1 to £8 6s. 8d., and that of the gallon, 1d. to 13d. Sack was not to be sold above 13d. per gallon, Malmsey not above 14d. and Muscadel not above 16d. per gallon.|| The following year proclamation was made that no wine be sold above 20d.¶ per gallon, a standard of price which might have been reached before in private transactions but which had never been officially recognised.

In 1573, wine was scarce and dear, costing as much as 14d. per gallon in Paris,** and the Queen paying as much as £7 9s. per tun of Gascon wine, and £5 9s. 6d. per butt of sweet wine,†† in spite

* Statutes of the Realm. Stat. 7 Ed. VI., cap. 5.

† Letter Book X, fo. 192.

‡ Letter Book V, fo. 55.

§ Letter Book X, fo. 192.

|| *Idem*, fo. 192.

¶ *Idem*, fo. 336b.

** Vicomte d'Avenel, *Hist. économique*.

†† Thorold Rogers. *History of Agriculture*, Vol. IV., p. 652.

of her many privileges. The following year, 1574, was again very unsatisfactory, and the cost of wine reached famine prices in England, in spite of all regulations and ordinances. On December 10th, 1574, the Merchant Adventurers of the City of London going to Spain and to France to fetch wines, the Vintners and other retailers within the City asked that these should be made to promise that none of them would sell Spanish wine above £20 nor Gascon wine above £17 per tun.* Such prices had never been heard of before, and one cannot wonder at finding, under date of January 10th, 1575, that some Vintners were sent to prison for refusing to sell their wine at the price fixed by authority.† Later on, in the same year, a more plentiful supply of wine brought about a marked reduction to £10 per tun for French wines,‡ a figure which was only occasionally and slightly increased during the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In 1578, it was decreed that the best Gascon and French wines should not be sold over £12 per tun, whilst the "small and thin" Rochelle wines were not to change hands at more than £10 per tun.§ This "assize" was renewed in 1579 and 1580 ;|| it was increased by £1 in 1581 and 1582,¶ and brought down again to £12 for the best, and £10 per tun for the cheaper sort, in 1583.** All these prices were only to be charged when the wine was sold free of all customs and other charges ; if these were left for the buyer to pay, £2 13s. 4d. less was to be charged per tun.

* Letter Book X, fo. 361b.

† *Idem*, fo. 365.

‡ Letter Book Y, fo. 5b.

§ *Idem*, fo. 283.

|| Letter Book Z, fos. 7b, 8, 9, 105, 105b.

¶ *Viz.*, £13 per tun for the best French and Gascon wines, and £11 per tun for the Rochelle wines. Letter Book Z, fo. 262.

** Letter Book Z, fos. 341, 341b.

The usually low price at which wine was ordered to be sold left the retailers little profit, and was a strong incentive to fraudulent practices, in the way of admixtures and blending, with a view either to increase the quantity on hand or to clarify and render drinkable old wines which had become foul or sour.

Such practices were undoubtedly much to be regretted, but if the mediæval taverner cannot be excused for resorting to these expedients, he has a right to our sympathy and indulgence when we consider that he was forced to sell his wine at a price which left him too narrow a margin of profit to cover the risks of those accidents which, even now, science, experience, and care, are not always successful in avoiding.

If the interference of the legislator was detrimental to the wine trade when its object was to enforce an artificial price, the same cannot be said of the unlimited care and jealous watchfulness of the mediæval municipal authorities as regards the quality of the wine sold to the public.

Not only the adulteration, but even the blending of different wines or of wines of the same growth but of different years, as well as misdescription of the article offered for sale, were offences for which the mediæval legislator, far wiser in this instance than our present-day law-makers, enacted severe punishment.

The art, the science, or, to call it by its real name, the fraud of manufacturing "wine" in England, with water, raisins and chemicals, is now openly conducted and the mixture thus obtained can be sold

as *Claret* and *Burgundy* without any fear of the law. Drugs which are not according to the standard of the British Pharmacopœia are instantly condemned. Milk is not allowed to be sold when adulterated, but, in the case of wine, the most unwholesome substitutes of the real article may be safely retailed by unscrupulous dealers.

The mediæval legislator enacted no laws against artificially made wine, because none was made, but he decreed very severe measures for preventing unwholesome wine from being sold, and for punishing those who dared sell any.

Wine is unfortunately easily adulterated, and, from the earliest times, adulteration has often been resorted to, either to make the wine last longer by the addition of antiseptics likely to check the acetous fermentation, or to clarify it, and add to the brilliancy of its colour, by the use of sulphur or the addition of litharge or of some other substance no less injurious to health.

All such practices were severely prohibited abroad; in Paris there was an *Ordonnance du Prévôt de Paris*, dealing with the subject, on September 20th, and December 2nd, 1371,* and a similar ordinance was issued at Brussels in 1384.†

Amongst the oldest German prohibitions against the adulteration of wine is that of Nuremberg in the year 1409.‡ In the year 1487, the Emperor caused an order against the adulteration of wine to be pub-

* De la Mare, *Traité de la Police*, p. 514.

† Mémoires sur les questions proposées par l'Académie de Bruxelles en 1777 (Bruxelles, 1778), in Beckmann, *History of Inventions*,

Discoveries and Origin (1846), Vol. I., p. 252.

‡ Further legislation against adulteration was enacted in 1475. Datt, *De Pace Imperii Publica*, Ulmæ, 1698, p. 632.

lished by the local authorities of Swabia, Franconia and Alsace; and this fraud was a subject of deliberation at the diet of Rottenburg, the same year, and also at the Diet of Worms, under Maximilian I., in 1495. At the Diet of Lindau, the use of sulphur was in particular prohibited, and also at Freyburg in Brisgau, in 1498. In the year 1500, the same affair was discussed at Augsburg and again in that city, in 1548, under Charles V. It appears that this business was left afterwards to the care of the different princes who, from time to time, issued prohibitions against so destructive a fraud.

In England, however, the adulteration of wine proper was then unknown, although vintners and coopers were often forced to have recourse to more or less orthodox practices to get rid of old, weak, or sour wine. The first comprehensive ordinance against such practices, as well as misdescription of wine, is to be found in the Letter Book I in the Guildhall, and, although undated, it may be ascribed, from internal evidence, to the year 1419.

It accused London vintners of faking their wines of Spain and Rochelle and other "remnants of broken, sodden, reboiled, and unthrifty wines of other countries," when they were "feeble in colour and naught in value," and of selling them as Romeney, a "slandrous deceit which must be stopped." The Mayor and Aldermen decreed, therefore, that "each wine be sold whole in his degree and kin as hegroweth," and, further, that no man, whether a freeman of the City, or a foreigner, "colour nor mingle no manner of wine, that is to say, no white with red, old with new, whole with broken or corrupt, Rochelle with Rhenish, nor none other wine of divers kinds nor growings

together, but sell them whole and true, even as they grow"; penalties were also enacted in the case of coopers and others, "should they be so hardy, of their own persons, or by their servants, to "gum, rase, bind, set in head, or in any other wise counterfeit or meddle with the undue making or counterfeiting of any manner of wine."*

The municipal authorities did more than enact penalties for the sale of mixed or unsound wine; they took practical steps to see that such wine was neither sold nor even kept in the taverns within their jurisdiction.

Searchers of wine were appointed every year, soon after the new wines had reached England in the autumn, whose duty it was to visit taverns, cellars, warehouses, and every place where wine of preceding vintages was kept, and to ascertain the condition of such wine. Every cask, butt, pipe, or vessel containing any quantity of wine, however small or considerable, which had become "unwholesome for man's drink," through age, bad cellarage or adulteration, was to be condemned and publicly destroyed by these official searchers.†

Thus, in December, 1517, three hogsheads of wine, which were seized by the searchers of the Vintners as unwholesome, were condemned to be publicly cast into the "Channel"; it was also decreed that

* Letter Book I, fo. 227. This ordinance will be found *in extenso* in the Appendix (p. 295); it is a document of double interest on account of its importance as regards the wine trade, and also because it is one of the very first recorded in what may be called "real" English language, freed from Latin and Norman.

† On February 18th, 1423, Robert Grey applied for the post of controller and surveyor of the searchers in London and all ports and places in the water of Thames. Calend. Patent. Rolls, 1 Hen. VI., Part II., m. 9.

all such wine found elsewhere should be treated in a similar way, and that keepers of taverns where it would be found should be sent to prison and committed for trial.*

In the following December, and so from year to year, searchers were presented at the Mayor's Court by the Vintners and sworn before entering on their duties for the ensuing year.†

At the same time, the Wardens of the Tallow-chandlers of London were sworn before the Lord Mayor or his deputy to certify which of the wines condemned by the Vintners in their search were defective but not unwholesome, and could be used to make vinegar.‡

After proceeding with their search in the City, the searchers had to render an account of all the wines, good and otherwise, which they had found. These reports are, of course, very valuable on account of the indications they furnish regarding the stocks of wine and the proportion of the different sorts of wine used in England at the time. They also bring additional proofs to the fact that many, besides Vintners, were licensed to sell wine in London. Amongst the keepers of taverns or cellars where defective wine was seized, the names of drapers, haberdashers, merchant taylors, tallow chandlers, coopers, etc., are to be found, as well and, in fact, in a far greater proportion, than those of vintners and taverners.§

There were also usually a few names of persons

* Letter Book N, fos. 58b, 59. December, 9 Hen. VIII.

† Letter Book N, fo. 100. December, 10 Hen. VIII.; Letter Book P, fo. 29, December, 25 Hen. VIII.; fo. 51, November, 26 Hen. VIII.; fos. 136, 137, November, 29 Hen. VIII., etc.

‡ Letter Book P., fo. 52b. November, 26 Hen. VIII.

§ Letter Book V. 205b, 206; Letter Book Z, 109, 109b, 185b, 267, 267b, 268.

selling wine in cellars or taverns without a licence and being members of other companies than the Vintners'.

Thus, the list of persons retailing wine without a licence in December, 1568, included the following : " Roger Richardson, merchant taylor, for a cellar in the Strand, and another in Bermondsey Street ; William Hamsworth, clothworker, for a house in Holborn, and another in Bermondsey Street ; Thomas Parkyns, cooper, for a cellar at Aldgate and another in Seething Lane ; David Maston, fishmonger, at the Dolphin, in New Fish Street ; William Toughe, clothworker, at Bosom's Inn ; John Barber and Dominic Busher, ' estraungers,' etc."*

Different searchers were always elected to investigate and report on the state of the wines in stock *in the East* and *in the West*. Thus, in 1528, there were 21 tuns and 2 hogsheads of red, claret and white wine and 42 tuns and 1 butt of divers sweet wines seized, *in the East*, as being defective ; at the same time, the searchers *in the West* condemned 41 tuns and 1 hogshead of red, claret and white wine, and 71 tuns of sweet wine.†

In 1555, the stocks of wine in taverns, in the East, amounted to only 160 tuns of Gascon, French and Rochelle wines and 67 tuns of sweet wines, the searchers condemning 14 tuns and 1 pipe ; in the West, there were 200 tuns of the former and 120 tuns of the latter wines, of which 10 tuns, 2 puncheons and 1 hogshead were found defective.‡

In 1568, there were, in the East, 195 tuns of sweet wines, one of which only was defective, 86

* Letter Book Z, fo. 268. Decem-
ber 11th, 25 Eliz.

† Letter Book O, fo. 126.

‡ Letter Book S, fos. 57. 57b.

tuns, 1 hogshead and 1 puncheon of Gascony wine, 2 tuns and 3 hogsheads of which were defective, and 16 tuns of French wine, of which 6 were condemned; in the West, there were 111 tuns of sweet wines, of which but 1 butt was found faulty, and 102 tuns, 1 puncheon and 1 hogshead of Gascony wine, of which 2 tuns, 3 hogsheads and 1 puncheon were defective.*

In 1573, there were, in the East, 208 tuns of sweet wines, of which 1 butt was found faulty, 112 tuns and 2 hogsheads of Gascony wine, of which 2 hogsheads were condemned, and 2 *fattes* of Rhenish wine in good condition; in the West, there were 180 tuns of sweet wines, of which 12 tuns, 1 butt and 1 rundlet were found defective, 81 tuns of Gascony wine, of which 1 tun and 1 hogshead were condemned, and 7 *fattes* of Rhenish wine, in good condition.†

In 1575, there were, in all, 310 tuns of sweet wine, all good, 91 tuns and 3 hogsheads of Gascony wine, of which 5 tuns, 1½ hogshead were condemned, and 3 *fattes* of Rhenish wine, all of which was found defective.‡

In 1577, there were, in the East, 371 tuns and 2 hogsheads of sweet wines, of which 6 pieces were defective, 196 pieces of *Corsica* § wine, 3 tuns and 1 hogshead of faulty Gascony wine, and 76 *fattes* of Rhenish wine, apparently all good; in the West, there were 263 tuns and 3 hogsheads of sweet wines, none of which was condemned, and 131 tuns and 3

* Letter Book V, fos. 205b, 206.

† Letter Book X, fos. 255b, 256.

‡ Letter Book Y, fo. 115.

§ Most probably an error for *Gascony*.

hogsheads of Gascon wine, of which 1 tun and 2 hogsheads were defective.*

In 1578, the stocks of wine in East and West amounted to 816 tuns of sweet wine, 337 tuns and 3 hogsheads of Gascon and French wines, $9\frac{1}{2}$ tuns of Rhenish wine and 75 tuns of wine of *Corsica* and *Diana*.†

In 1579, there were 621 tuns of sweet wines, 281 tuns of Gascon and French wines, and 196 tuns of Rhenish wine, in East and West together, and only 6 tuns in all were condemned.‡

In 1580, there were, in all, 724 tuns of sweet wines, 496 tuns and 3 hogsheads of Gascony and Rochelle wines, and 7 *fattes* of Rhenish wine; 27 tuns and 3 hogsheads were found faulty.§

In 1581, there were, in all, 543 tuns and 3 hogsheads of sweet wines, 405 tuns, 1 hogshead and 2 tierces of Gascon and French wines, and 32 *fattes* of Rhenish; 13 tuns and 3 hogsheads were condemned.||

In 1582, there were, in all, 480 tuns of sweet wines, 618 tuns, 3 hogsheads, 2 tierces of Gascon and French wines and 17 *fattes* of Rhenish wine; 16 tuns, 1 hogshead and 1 tierce being condemned as unwholesome.¶

* Letter Book Y, fo. 191b.

† Letter Book Y, fos. 281b, 282.
I have been unable to find out what
was meant by wine *de Diana*.

‡ Letter Book Z, fo. 13b.

§ *Idem*, fos. 109, 109b.

|| *Idem*, fos. 185, 185b.

¶ *Idem*, fos. 267, 267b.

CHAPTER V.

THE remarkable continuity of the archives of London, and the wealth of documents relating to the metropolis, make it much easier to trace back the history of the wine trade in the City during the Middle Ages, than to furnish anything like adequate information regarding the state of our trade in the provinces during the same period. It would be, however, a very great mistake to imagine that the proportion of wine consumed in all parts of the country was trifling compared with what was sold in London. Although provincial archives are not so complete nor so easy of access as those kept at the Guildhall, sufficient *data* may be gathered to show that in every county and in most towns, even amongst some of the least important, wine was known and consumed by the mediæval population. We may even infer that the wine trade made relatively greater progress in the provincial centres during the fifteenth century than in London itself. It must be borne in mind that the Wars of the Roses served to rid the country of many restrictions introduced in the age of feudalism, and to make room for the development of free thought and independent action. The supremacy of the barons was brought to an end, and the supremacy of the towns—that is, of the commercial classes who made the strength and

wealth of towns—initiated. Unlike the civil wars of Northern Italy and the religious feuds in France, the Wars of the Roses were struggles between great lords who led their relations, retainers and supporters to share their fortune; the population, and particularly the population of the towns, stood aloof, and took no part in the fight, so long as they were not actually compelled to by either of the combatants. This accounts for the unbounded prosperity of Bristol and Newcastle during the Wars of the Roses, whilst many other ports and cities thrived and increased in wealth and power during this troubled period.

BRISTOL, owing to the exceptional facilities afforded by the Avon and the Severn for sending wine inland at a cheap rate of freight, was, after London, the most important wine mart in England.

Mentions of the royal gaugers * at Bristol, grants of wine out of the King's prisage at Bristol,† and records of Bristol merchants importing Bordeaux, Anjou or other wines,‡ are frequent.

From Bristol wine was sent to Evesham, and as far as Warwick and Coleshill, in Warwickshire,§ as well as to all the western counties, Hereford, Worcestershire and Shropshire.||

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. VI., Part II., m. 24.

† Gairdner, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 435, Sec. 13.

‡ See Rot. Parl., Vol. IV., p. 89, anno 1416. Campbell. Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VII., Vol. II., pp. 518, 532, anno 1490. In 1546, two Bristol merchants who had gone to Bordeaux were arrested

there with other Englishmen. See Fr. Michel. Hist. du Commerce à Bordeaux, Vol. I., p. 119.

§ Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., A.D. 1405, 1433, 1462, 1525.

|| *Idem*. Numerous purchases of wine by the Monastery of Pershore (Worcestershire), A.D. 1433, 1441, 1445, etc.

At SHREWSBURY, wine was sufficiently abundant, in 1458, to be regularly given to the patrols appointed to walk the town by night, in "defensible array," for the preservation of the peace,* whilst a century later, in 1543, the sheriffs and other municipal officers of Shrewsbury were in receipt of allowances of wine.†

Occasionally, a wine-laden ship was brought to Chepstow,‡ but there does not appear to have existed a regular import trade at that place.

Not so BRIDGEWATER, in Somerset, where a royal deputy-butler was stationed, and where wine must have been imported sufficiently regularly, since Henry IV. granted, in one instance, four pipes of wine *yearly* out of his prisage on wines landed at Bridgewater.§

Another port of the Bristol Channel, where wine was imported direct from France and Spain, was MINEHEAD, in Somerset. Amongst the manuscripts preserved at Dunster Castle, there is a sixteenth century record entitled, "Duties levied at Mynhead, 37 Eliz.," according to which municipal taxes were imposed in that year (1594) on all wines brought to the town, according to the following rates:—"For every tun of wine coming from France, 4d.; for every tun of wine coming from Andalusia, 6d.; for every tun of sweet wine, 6d."||

Wine was also brought direct to the smaller

* In denariis solut' pro vino expend' super tres subballivos ambulantes nocte cum diversis ambulantis cum illis modo guer-rinoarraiatis proconservatione pacis, 19a. 1d. Owen and Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury*, London, 1825, Vol. I., p. 226.

† *Idem*, Vol. I., p. 340.

‡ September 15th, 1538. Gaird-

ner, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. XIII., Part II., No. 347.

§ Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 12, anno 1399.

|| The MSS. of G. F. Luttrell, Esq., of Dunster Castle, in the Tenth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part VI., p. 74.

Cornish ports which merchant vessels passed before entering the Bristol Channel, such as St. Ives, where wine was very cheap during the fifteenth century, costing 8d. per gallon in 1411, and only 6d. per gallon, in 1472.*

Devonshire was chiefly supplied with wine from Plymouth, Dartmouth and Exeter.

In 1442, at PLYMOUTH, a pipe of white wine was given to Beckington,† and in 1599 Ann White and her son George White were licensed by Sir Walter Raleigh to keep a tavern for the sale of wine.‡

DARTMOUTH was, up to the sixteenth century, a busy port, carrying on an active trade with Bordeaux, and Sir Peter Carew, in a letter written on November 9th, 1565, to Sir William Cecil, attributes the decay of the shipping in that port solely to the new impost on wines.§

At EXETER, wine was cheap in 1421, the tun costing only £3,|| and it may therefore be presumed that it was fairly abundant. Sweet wines appear to have also been plentiful and retailed at moderate prices. In 1444, and following years, for instance, we find numerous entries of gallons, quarts and pints of Malmsey, Romeney and Bastard wine, as well as red and white wine, given by order of the Mayor to the Bishop, the Recorder, the Recorder's wife and the Mayor himself.¶ Wine was also very

* Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., pp. 511, 512.

† *A Journal by one of the Suite of Thomas Beckington*, p. 4.

‡ *Calend. of State Papers Domestic Series*, 1598-1601, p. 341.

§ *Idem*, 1547-1580. p. 261.

|| *Remarkable Antiquities of the City of Exeter*. London, 1681.

¶ *Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter, 1447-1450*. Edited by Stuart A. Moore, F.S.A., Camden Society Publications, 1871.

cheap at Otterton, not far from Exeter, throughout the fifteenth century.*

The two principal ports of Dorsetshire to which wine was brought were Weymouth, where a ship from Rouen arrived with wines, in 1465,† and Poole, where a Gascon wine-laden vessel came in that same year, and where grants of "prisage" wine were directed to be made in 1539.‡

The importance of SOUTHAMPTON as one of the chief English wine marts, great as it was before, increased rapidly during the fifteenth century, when it became practically the staple port for all the Levant wines. The Venetian galleys, which principally brought these wines to England and beyond, made Southampton their first port of call after they left the Straits of Gibraltar, as they found it convenient to proceed thence to Flanders, where they sold whatever wines they had not disposed of, and where they were always sure to find a suitable return cargo.

During the reign of Henry IV., Southampton obtained a monopoly of the import trade of all wines coming from "beyond the Straits of Morocco," a privilege which was renewed by succeeding Sovereigns. Malmseys, Muscadels and all the sweet Levant, Greek or Italian wines, imported either by foreigners or natives, were to be brought to the quays of Southampton and there acquit various tolls and customs. In 1429, Gregory Catan and

* See Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., p. 512, *et seq.*

† *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 5 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 22d.

‡ Gairdner, *Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 435, sec. 13.

Paul Morel were fined £8 for selling some butts of Malmsey in Southampton Water instead of bringing them to the town quays.*

The duties levied on sweet wines at Southampton were heavy, as the town exacted an impost independent of the customs paid to the Crown, and the way these were collected was also peculiar. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Leicester "enjoyed" the lease of the duties on sweet wines in Southampton, during six years. At its expiry, the said lease was offered by the Mayor and Burgesses of Southampton to Lord Howard of Effingham, for a similar period of six years; the Lord High Admiral, however, declined the honour, saying that he understood that the Earl of Essex was a suitor for the lease and he would not deprive his dear friend.†

It is quite natural to infer that if the duties levied on sweet wines at Southampton were so lucrative that noblemen of the highest rank petitioned to be appointed the collectors of them, they must have been very arbitrary, and the merchants who brought these wines must have resented and endeavoured to avoid the exactions they were subjected to in that port.

Many merchants accordingly left Southampton either for Flemish or other English ports, where they had reason to expect fairer treatment.

The men of Southampton complained bitterly of this "infringment" of their sacred rights, but although their monopoly was not repealed and, in

* MSS. of the Town of Southampton, in the Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix, Part III., p. 135.

† *Idem*, p. 127.

fact, was actually renewed by both Queens Mary and Elizabeth, no active measures appear to have been taken, nor any penalties to have been enacted, to prevent merchants from bringing sweet wines to Bristol, London, Hull, or any other port.

During the reign of Elizabeth, the complaints of the men of Southampton who asked for injunctions against Venetians landing their Malmseys and sweet wines at any other port than theirs became more frequent.*

In 1566, the Mayor and Burgesses of Southampton sent a strongly worded petition to the Queen, saying that one Benedict Spinola, of Genoa, had imported Malmsey and Muscadell in several other ports of the realm instead of bringing them to Southampton, to the great hurt of the town; they demanded that Spinola should be made to pay to them all the dues which they were entitled to, had he brought his wines to their port, and, besides, that such wines be forfeited as a punishment for his offence.†

This unreasonable request does not appear to have been granted, but, a few years later, in 1570, it was once more enacted that all wines of the growths of Candia or Rotimo, or any other places within the Levant seas, imported to England by merchant strangers, should be landed at Southampton and not elsewhere, upon forfeiture of 20s. a butt, a moiety to the Queen and the other to the Mayor, Bailiffs and

* See Rot. Parl. (Chanc.), 5 Eliz. (1562); in Hubert Hall, *A History of the Custom Revenue in England*, pp. 310, 311. See Appendix, p. 317.

† MSS. of the Town of Southampton in the Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part III., p. 94, and *Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1580*, p. 279.

Burgesses of Southampton, for maintenance of the walls, sea-banks, etc.*

In 1534, the prisage paid by denizens on wine brought to Southampton amounted to £379 6s. 8d., and £326 13s. 11d. was paid in the same port by aliens, on their wines, as butlerage, the latter amount representing 3,267 tuns of wine imported, and the former about 2,000 tuns.†

In 1535, the prisage received at Southampton amounted to £320 10s. 2½d., and the butlerage to £136 12s. 2½d., representing about 3,300 tuns of wine imported.‡

In 1536, the butlerage was £217 16s. 1½d. and the prisage £321 4s. 6¾d., representing the importation of about 4,100 tuns of wine at Southampton.†

Presents of wine, especially during the fifteenth century, when wine was still cheap, were frequently made by the Mayor of Southampton to noblemen and others.

Thus, in 1429, a tun of red Gascon wine was given to the Duke of Gloucester; a gallon of Gascon wine was given at the same time, by order of the Mayor, to Richard Holte, Justice of the Peace; two gallons were also given to John Lysle, Knight; three gallons to Maurice de Berkeley, and five to George Mixstowe.‡

From Southampton wine was sent, not only to St. Dennis,§ Christchurch and Beaulieu, but to

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, James I., Vol. XLIII., p. 51.

† Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XII., Part I., No. 1003.

‡ MSS. of the Town of Southampton, in the Eleventh Report of

the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix, Part III., pp. 135, 137.

§ Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., p. 512, A.D. 1426.

Micheldever,* Tichfield, and Salisbury, and throughout Hampshire, Wiltshire, and even to Oxford.

At SALISBURY, Gascon wine was relatively dear, in 1406, the tun of red and white wine costing £9 13s. 4d.†

In 1478, two merchants of Bordeaux sold 16 tuns of red wine of Gascony, worth 6 marks a tun (£4), to John Hall, of Salisbury.‡

A century later, the Salisbury Vintners were greatly tried by some impracticable regulations which the Mayor endeavoured to enforce respecting the measures wine was to be sold by.

On December 16th, 1582, the Vintners of Salisbury petitioned the Council as follows:—

“We have been molested about the standard whereby wine is to be sold, and now, by your good means, the opinion of all the judges, with Her Majesty’s counsel at law, is to be set down touching the true meaning of the law.”

They asked licence to continue their accustomed measures until London and Bristol had tried the case. They (the Salisbury Vintners) wished to be excused from arguing the point of gauging and measuring, but were ready to accept the standard of London and Bristol and of all those places by the sea-coast from London to Southampton and Poole, “by which gauge and measure all wines are bought and customs paid, and which agree with the measures by which wine is sold, from London

* Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIII., Part I., No. 151, A.D. 1538.
 † Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., p. 509.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 18 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 18d.

to Oxford, and to Bristol and in all places fifty miles round, and from time out of mind. If it should be altered Her Majesty will lose the custom of one tun in eight, and no wines can be brought into the realm but will all be forfeited, because they must contain 252 gallons the tun, which no cask ever contained by the ale gallons.”*

The Council desired the Earl of Pembroke, as Steward of the City of Salisbury, to hear and determine the controversy between the Mayor and Vintners of the town of Sarum, relative to the standard measures by which wine was to be sold.†

Besides Southampton, wine was also sent into Hampshire from Portsmouth, where a ship arrived with Rochelle wines on November 1st, 1562, and a Breton vessel laden with Sack on January 8th, 1563.‡

Sussex was amply provided with wine, which was brought to all the small ports from Chichester, where red wine cost only £5 6s. 8d. per tun, in 1425,§ to Hastings, where seven puncheons of claret, belonging to a Frenchman, were seized, in 1538, by order of the Lord Privy Seal and sent to “Sefford,” the wine being appraised at £3 the tun and the carriage amounting to 12s.|| At Battle, sweet wine cost 1s. 3d. the gallon in 1498, and Gascon wine about £4 10s. per cask, in 1502.¶ At Rye, in 1454, good wine cost 8d. per gallon and sweet wine 1s. 2d. per gallon.**

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Eliz. Addenda, Vol. XXVII., No. 131, and CLVI., No. 18.

† *Idem*, Vol. LVI., No. 18.

‡ Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1580, pp. 210, 216.

§ Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., p. 510.

|| Gairdner, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. XIII., Part I., No. 922.

¶ Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., p. 514.

** MSS. of the Corporation of Rye, in the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 491.

In Kent, Romney and Dover were the principal ports where wine was imported after the decay of Sandwich. At the first-named port an important income was derived by the municipal exchequer from a tax of 1s. per pipe of wine sold wholesale by freemen of the town and 2s. per pipe if sold by "way of tappyng," viz., by retail. Others than freemen selling wine within the town of Romney paid 2s. per pipe, whether sold by wholesale or retail.*

Much wine was yearly consumed at CANTERBURY, where the Shrine of St. Thomas drew a great concourse of people. In 1420, the number of pilgrims who repaired thither for the feasts of the Jubilee from all parts of England, Ireland and the Continent, reached, says Somner, a hundred thousand, and the historian of the Cathedral city adds that wine was cheap and abundant, and that large quantities of it were consumed.†

A great variety, as well as an abundance of wines, were to be found at Canterbury. There is a complaint recorded in the municipal archives of the city for 1450, that not only red wine, but also Malvesey, Tyre and Bastard had become much dearer on account of the civil discords of the time, chiefly Jack Cade's insurrection. Malvesey is again mentioned, together with red and white wines, in 1480,‡ and again in 1504, when it cost £4 per butt; at the same time, Rhenish wine was sold at 23s. 4d.

* A.D. 1417. MSS. of the Corporation of New Romney, in the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 538.

† W. Somner, *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, London, 1703, Part I. Appendix, p. 51. Later, in 1539, wine was sent to Cranmer, at

Canterbury.—Gairdner, *Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 537.

‡ The Records of the City of Canterbury, in the Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part I., pp. 136, 140.

per ohm, red wine at £4, claret at £3 17s. 4d. and white wine at £3 6s. 8d. per tun; in 1515, 25 tuns of Rochelle wine were sold at Canterbury at £6 per tun.*

Wine was also to be had in most parts of Kent, even at so unimportant a place as Bexley, where it cost 9d. and 10d. per gallon, in 1405.†

In East Anglia, wine was both cheap and plentiful during the greater part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

At COLCHESTER, the bailiffs issued a proclamation, in 1537, that French or Gascon wine was not to be sold above seven marks (£4 13s. 4d.) per tun.‡ In 1596, Sir John Smythe, being accused of using seditious words to the soldiers at Colchester on a certain occasion, said he could not remember what had happened, having drunk white wine and claret that morning, at the White Hart, Colchester.§

At ORWELL, Henry Hermanson brought Rhenish wines, in 1474,|| and at Ipswich, where a deputy-butler was stationed, Gascon wine cost 35s. the pipe in 1463, and £14 the tun in 1579.¶

In 1550, a merchant of IPSWICH bought 500 tuns of wine at Bordeaux from three Gascon merchants.**

In 1586, Muscadine was bought by the Churchwardens of Mendlesham, in Suffolk.††

* Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., p. 515.

† *Idem*, p. 509.

‡ Gairdner, *Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Vol. XII., Part II., No. 1155.

§ *Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1595-1597*, p. 243.

|| *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 13 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 16d.

¶ Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., p. 517.

** F. Michel, *Hist. du Commerce à Bordeaux*, Vol. I., p. 456.

†† MSS. of the Parish of Mendlesham, in the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 593.

At YARMOUTH, there was a deputy-butler stationed to levy prisage;* it was the natural port of NORWICH, where, to judge from the numerous entries in the old Corporation accounts, wine was very plentiful. In 1417, wine was sold there at 10d. per gallon; in 1424, red wine only cost 8d. per gallon, Tyre and Bastard 10d.; in 1425, 1431, 1433, 1434, 1442, red wine cost 8d. a gallon, and in 1434, Malmsey sold at 1s. a gallon.†

Wine was equally abundant in most parts of Norfolk: at Winterton, where they had Malmsey, Romeney and Muscadell, in 1433; at Ormesby, where the hogshead of red wine only cost 26s. 8d. in 1466; at Wymondham, where red wine and claret fetched the same price, in 1505, Malmsey being sold at 1s. per gallon; at Hunstanton, where claret cost 23s. 4d. the hogshead, in 1519; £4 13s. 4d. the tun, in 1520; 25s. the hogshead in 1522; and 30s. in 1527; Rhenish being sold at 1s. and Malmsey 2s. per gallon, in 1522; Malmsey at 1s. 5d. per gallon, in 1527; and Rhenish at 1s. 1½d., in 1533.‡ In that year, five hogsheads of wine were sent from Lynn to Hunstanton at a cost of only 2s. 10d.

LYNN, sometimes called Lynnbishop, was an important centre of the East Anglia wine trade, and some fine vaults are still to be seen in the older parts of the city, which show that the activity of the wine trade in Lynn was maintained until comparatively modern times.

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 5.

† See numerous entries of purchases of wine, at Norwich, in the Appendix, pp. 257, 258, *et seq.* Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. IV., and MSS. in Pembroke

College, Cambridge, in the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 486.

‡ See Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., p. 511, *et seq.*

On July 13th, 1518, by an indenture between Richard Wells, of Lynnbishop, cooper, on the one part, and two London merchants, on the other, the latter undertook to freight a ship in Andalusia to the port of Lynn, with wines and fruit.*

In September, 1518, the deputy-butler in the port of Lynn, accounting for the prisage in the said port between Michaelmas, 1517, and Michaelmas, 1518, gives the following list of men and vessels of Lynn bringing wine, the dates of entry and the duties levied from each.

1517. October 24th, *Mary of Harwich*, 41 tuns of wine of John Maynard, and 7 tuns of Edward Redde. *Prisage*, £6.

1517. December 4th, *Mary Grace of Lynn*, 32 tuns of Ed. Kyne; 12 tuns of William Castell; 4 tuns of Robert Carr. *Prisage*, 2 tuns.

1517. December 4th, *Antony de Lynne*, 18 tuns of Ric. Mytton, of London; 7 tuns of John Smyth, of London; 7 tuns of Ed. Mathew, of London; 1 pipe of Ed. Gerves; 9 tuns of John Greneway, of London. *Prisage*, £6.

1517. December 6th, *Margaret of Lynne*, 15 tuns of Th. Miller. *Prisage*, 1 tun. 12 tuns of Ric. Mittyn, of London; 5 tuns of R. Smyth, of London. *Prisage*, £3.

1517. December 6th, *Mary Imperiall*, 11 tuns of John Clerk, of London; 44 tuns of John Greneway, of London. *Prisage*, £6.

1518. February 25th, *Barke of Shirbourne*, 10 tuns of John Flenyshion, a foreigner. As *Butlerage*, £1.

* Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., No. 4318.

1518. April 14th, *Mary Fortune of Lynne*, 14 tuns of Robert Baker. *Prisage*, 1 tun.

1518. July 13th, *Andrew of Lynne*, 1 pipe of John Moll.*

Numerous proofs of the abundance and moderate price of wine at Lynn during the fifteenth century are to be found in the manuscripts of the Borough of King's Lynn. During the reign of Edward IV. the following entries are recorded in the accounts of the Chamberlains of Lynn:—

1-2 *Ed. IV.* (1462). 2s. 8d. for two flagons of sweet wine sent to the Lady de Scales; 4s. 4d. for three flagons, red, and one flagon sweet, to the same; 2s. 9d. for one flagon and a quart of red, and one flagon of sweet wine; 5s. 2d. for two flagons and one potell of red, and two flagons of sweet wine; 3s. for two flagons and one quart of sweet wine; 2s. 3d. for two flagons and three pints of red wine; 16d. for a flagon of sweet wine, called *Tyre*, given to the Lord de Cromwell; 14d. for a potell of *Tire* and a potell of wine, called *Renysshewyn*, given to the wife of John Twier; 2s. for two flagons of red wine for the Mayor and his brethren; 4s. for four flagons of wine given to Lord Arundell; 12d. for one flagon of red wine given to Sir William Langestrotter, Knight, Master of Carbroke; 3s. 4d. paid for wine spent on Sir John Howard, Knight, in the presence of the Mayor and other honest men of the town.

5-6 *Ed. IV.* (A.D. 1466). 20d. for five potells of red wine, and 20d. for five quarts of sweet wine, spent at Geiwode, when the Mayor assumed his charge for

* Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., No. 4461.

the year ; 8d. for a potell of red wine spent when the Mayor and divers of his brethren went round the towns, to see the tenements of the community ; 3s. for three potells of red wine, and three potells of sweet wine given by the Mayor to the Lord de Scales ; 2s. 8d. for two flagons of red wine and one flagon of sweet wine given by the Mayor to the Lord de Cromwell.

13-14 *Ed. IV.* (A.D. 1474). 25s. for a vessel of Rhenish wine (*pro uno vase vini del Riene*), given by the Mayor to Sir Robert Wyngfield, Knight ; 5s. for the carriage of the same wine to Harley, where the said Knight stays ; 16d. for a flagon of sweet wine sent to the Lord Duke of Suffolk, being at the Hospice of *The Bull*, etc.*

CAMBRIDGE was also chiefly supplied with wine from Lynn, although London, Ipswich, and Boston merchants sent some there occasionally. In any case the carriage was somewhat costly, which accounts for wine being always slightly more expensive at Cambridge than at Oxford. Thus, in 1410, the gallon of wine cost 8d. at Cambridge, and 6d. at Oxford ; in 1414, it cost 6d. at Cambridge, and 5d. at Oxford ; in 1445, it cost 8d. at Cambridge, and 7d. at Oxford ; in 1449, and 1450, it cost 10d. at Cambridge, and 8d. at Oxford ; in 1456, it cost 1s. at Cambridge, and 9d. at Oxford, etc.

In 1511, Erasmus wrote from Queen's College, Cambridge, to Ammonius, in London, saying that he could not drink the beer nor the wine to be had there, and asking his friend to send him some Greek

* See Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix, Part III., pp. 224, 225.

wine, "but not too sweet"; Ammonius sent him some from London on several occasions.*

Boston was an important wine mart where merchants from the interior came at the time of the great fair to purchase their provision; Bardney, in Lincolnshire,† and even Stamford,‡ being supplied from that centre. At Worksop, which was also supplied with wine from Boston, Sack cost 3s. per gallon in 1585 and a little more in 1595.§

In 1490, John Robynson, a merchant of Boston, obtained a special licence to import 200 tuns of Gascon wine,|| a similar favour being granted to another Boston merchant, in 1514, for 100 tuns.¶

It was also at Boston that the Earls of Rutland purchased some of their wines for Belvoir Castle; on December 15th, 1541, for instance, the Earl bought, at Boston, two hogsheads of Gascon wine from George Lasselles, to be delivered by Christmas.**

HULL was the chief source of supply for the wines consumed throughout Yorkshire and the neighbouring parts.††

References to the merchants of Hull going to Bordeaux are to be found previous to,‡‡ and during the year 1433, when the following fleet left Hull for Gascony:—The *Trinite of Hull*, of 300 tuns burden, the *Anthony of Hull*, of 205 tuns, the *Mary de Hull*, of ninety tuns, the *Mary Bussel* and the *Peter de*

* Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. I., No. 1840, 1917, 1918.

† In 1527, wine cost 25s. per hogshead at Bardney. Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III.

‡ In 1498, wine cost 10d. per gallon at Stamford.

§ *Idem*, Vol. VI.

|| Campbell, *Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VII.*, Vol. II., p. 514.

¶ Brewer, *Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Vol. I., No. 5227.

** See MSS. of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle, Vol. IV., p. 320.

†† *Select Remains of the Learned John Ray*, etc., 1760, p. 145.

‡‡ MSS. Harl., No. 1433, fo. 109, verso.

Hull, of eighty tuns each, the *John Bridlington*, belonging to Robert White, merchant of Beverley, the *George of Hull*, of 151 tuns, belonging to John Somerly, of Bridlington.*

A few years later, in 1444, we have a list of the Hull fleet, which arrived back from Bordeaux, together with the quantity of wine brought by each vessel.

The ship called *La Saubade de Bayonne* was laden with 136 tuns and one pipe of wine, belonging to no less than ten different people : seventy-one tuns, forty-two casks, and one pipe belonged to Fortin de Cantelop ; eighteen tuns and twelve casks to Lorens le Boria ; three casks and one pipe to Monyn Jeuen de la Layne ; three casks, one pipe, and eight casks to Pey Estort ; two tuns each to Naudin de Lastage, Johan Jenstay, and Pey Bachey ; eight tuns to Bernard Julian, and one pipe to Johan Buscat. The other ships which arrived the same day appear to have belonged to foreign and English ports other than Hull.†

A little further there is an entry to the effect that on October 29th and November 18th, 1444, eight vessels from London, one from Portsmouth, seven from Dartmouth, the *Maria of Bayonne*, the *Gorge Payntone*, two ships from Weymouth, the *Seint Yves de Dyerna*, the *Petre* of Exeter, the *Trynyttat* of Winchelsea, the *Gorge de la Poula* (of Poole), two vessels belonging to the port of Hull, the

* MSS. Harl., No. 433, Art. 964, fo. 78. verso.

† They were the *Catheline du Fau*, *Anthony du Fau*, *Jugmes Marie*, *Saint Jehan*, *Kathelin of Bayonne*, *Juliana de Landerneau*, the *Marie* and the *Anthony* of London, the *Trinity*, the *Marie de*

Courtenay, the *Marie* of Swansea, the *Kathelyn* of Plymouth, the *George* of Dartmouth, the *Mary* of Hull, the *Marie* of Rouen, the *Marie Kanik*. See Fr. Michel, *Hist. du Commerce et de la Navigation à Bordeaux*. Vol. I., pp. 345-358.

Maria Careau, the *Trynitat de Berkeley*, six ships from Bristol, the *Martynet Tabbet*, the *Trynytat* of Chepyscolle (? Chepstow), a vessel from Newcastle, another from Wanford, and, lastly, one from Southampton, all arrived at Hull with wines.

On December 13th, 1444, ships from Milford, Tenby, St. Sebastian, Holderness, Pensand, Bridgewater, Hull, Guernsey, Oxenford, Lymington, Llanethle, Saltash, Cherbourg, etc., also the *Maria de Cledkol* and the *Valentyn de Gloucester* brought wine to Hull.

There are a very great number of such entries illustrating the considerable activity of the wine trade of Hull in 1444–1445.

Early in the fifteenth century, the municipality of Hull showed signs of temperance tendencies by prohibiting the sale of wine on Sundays, in 1414,* and ordering, by an ordinance rendered by common consent at the Town Hall, in 1441, that no Mayor of Hull be allowed to sell ale or wine in his house during his year of office.†

In 1559, two merchants of Hull, Thomas Alrede and Harry Modye, wrote to the Earl of Rutland and Lord Talbot concerning the proposed exemption of their wines from impost.‡

From Hull, wine was sent to a great many places inland as well as along the coast. At Leeds, Hylton, a vintner, received £7 14s. 4d. for five hogsheads of wine in 1539.§ Wine was also sent from Hull to Bolton Abbey; || to Kirkby Stephen, where claret and

* J. J. Sheahan, History of the Town and Port of Kingston-upon-Hull, p. 72.

† *Idem*, p. 73.

‡ Rutland MSS., Vol. I., p. 70.

§ Gairdner, Documents relating

to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 782. (Cromwell's Accounts.)

|| Whitaker, History and Antiquities of Craven, etc., p. 343.

white wine cost £18 per tun, and Muscadine 3s. 4d. per gallon, in 1586; and to Durham, where red wine and claret cost £6 13s. 4d. per tun, in 1530, £7 13s. 4d. and £8 per tun, in 1531, £6 13s. 4d. and under, in 1532, £4 13s. 4d. and under, in 1533 and 1534.*

Nearer Hull, and in close commercial relations with this port, was YORK, at that time a great wine-consuming city and playing an important part in the political, religious, and military life of the nation. The cost of carriage of a tun of wine from Hull to York by water all the way, *i.e.*, by the Humber and the Ouse, was 1s. 8d.†

York did not draw its supplies of wine only from Hull; York merchants traded directly with Bordeaux, where one of them and two of his Hull compatriots were arrested in 1546.‡ A century before, in 1433, Richard III. had granted to York wine merchants the same licences as to those of Hull.§ In 1421, wine must have been scarce at York, since it cost as much as 1s. per gallon,|| whilst it only cost 8d. per gallon in 1550.¶

In June, 1537, the Duke of Norfolk ordered four hogsheads of wine out of his cellar to be broached in the streets of York for the people to drink and rejoice on the receipt of the news that the Queen was "quick with child."**

At BEVERLEY wine as well as beer was supplied to the "armed men and archers" during the northern rebellion in which Archbishop Scrope was engaged,

* Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., p. 516.

† *Idem*, p. 668.

‡ Fr. Michel, *Hist. du Commerce et de la Navigation à Bordeaux*, Vol. I., p. 119.

§ MSS. Harl., No. 433, fo. 109, verso.

|| Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., p. 510.

¶ *Idem*, p. 516.

** Gairdner, *Henry VIII.*, Vol. XII., Part II., m. 22.

in 1405 ; a hogshead of wine was at the same time given by the Corporation to " Sir John de Scropp."* Mentions of gifts of wine or purchases of this commodity are also to be found in the records of the Corporation for 1409, 1423, 1437, 1445, when it was on several occasions distributed amongst archers ; in 1448, John Redyshan, cook, was fined 50s. for refusing to sell red wine of Gascony at 6d. per gallon, the assize price ; in 1460, the price of wine had risen to 12d. per gallon, and in 1520, wine, which only cost 8d. per gallon, was given to the Cardinal Archbishop of York on his way to London.†

In December, 1405, the following proclamation was issued at Beverley, and ordered to be made every succeeding year:—

" And let that proclamation be yearly made when it shall have seemed good to the keepers of the town and the steward of the lord that no innkeeper (*hospes*) wineseller, brewster, or female wineseller (*vendatrix*) called tipeler, permit any inhabitants or strangers to reside or remain by night in their taverns after 9 o'clock has struck in the night, except true and honest persons, for whose doings their hosts will answer to the lord the King and the community of the town, under the penalty of all which the King could take as forfeit in this behalf. And that no burgess or other inhabitant of Beverley keep at his house or table any stranger unknown beyond a competent time for coming and going in travelling, unless their hosts in the first week come before the keepers of the town with the same strangers, and make their names and persons there known, and undertake for

* Hist. MSS. Com. Report on the MSS. of Beverley, p. 157.

† *Idem*, pp. 132, 133, 158, 161, 162, 164, 165, 173.

their good behaviour, viz., a burgess under penalty of the loss of his freedom, and an inhabitant of 40s. to be paid to the King. And that no inhabitant wander in the streets beyond the franchises of Beverley by night after 9 o'clock, nor any stranger after 8, without a light, and reasonable cause, under penalty of imprisonment, until provision and order shall have been made for the delivery of offenders by the keepers of the community and the servants of the lord."*

In the Durham Household Book, or the Accounts of the Bursar of the Monastery of Durham, from Pentecost, 1530, to Pentecost, 1534, there are a great many entries relating to wines, chiefly red and claret, bought by the monastery, principally from Newcastle-on-Tyne, but also from Hull, Darlington, and even Chester. There are also mentions of French wines, Malmsey and "vino reniseto," which means, probably, Rhenish.†

NEWCASTLE seems to have been the usual supply market whence the monastery of Durham received their wines. In 1567 the assize price of wine was fixed, at Newcastle, at £10 per tun.‡

The cost of carriage for the wine sent from Newcastle to Durham varied considerably, according to the time of the year and special circumstances. In February, 1530, for instance, 10d. per hogshead was charged, whilst in June, 1531, 5s. was asked; in 1532, one tun, or three hogsheads, cost 3s. or 4s. to carry, and one hogshead 1s. 4d.; in 1534, 2s. 4d.

* MSS. of the Corporation of Beverley, pp. 57, 58.

† The Durham Household Book (Surtees Society Publications), pp. 3, 4, 13, 16, 49, 63, 135, 148, 151,

152, 175, 227, 228, 229, 230, 236, 248, 261, 293.

‡ The MSS. of the Earl of Lonsdale, p. 1.

was charged per tun of wine sent from Newcastle to Durham.*

From Newcastle, wine was sent throughout Northumberland, and occasionally to Scotland; in 1543, for example, wine was purchased in that port and shipped to Edinburgh.†

At ALNWICK, Lord Lisle, writing to the Duke of Suffolk, in 1543, complains that wine was only to be had occasionally, when a prize was brought in, and that it always fetched a very high price, the cheapest costing £6 10s. per tun, and of very inferior quality.‡

At BERWICK, a town which long enjoyed many special privileges, wine was more plentiful, and the royal cellars there were always abundantly supplied for the needs of the army. It is recorded in the Book of Statutes and Ordinances of Berwick, that, in 1542, soldiers were not allowed to "dice or card," for money, but could play for wine or other drinks.§

The Western counties of the North of England were chiefly supplied with wine through CHESTER and LANCASTER, where wine was sold at 8d. the gallon in 1429,|| whilst, at Chester, the price of red wine was 1s. 4d. per gallon, and that of Malmsey 2s. per gallon, in 1559, these prices being the same as ruled in London during that year.¶

* The Durham Household Book (Surtees Society), pp. 13, 16, 63, 151, 152, 248.

† Gairdner, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. XVIII., Part I., No. 678. Wine was then very scarce at Edinburgh, where its cost increased from £8 to £20 per tun within a year.

‡ *Idem*, No. 153, 156. Wine was

also sent from Alnwick to Edinburgh; Lisle had to pay at the rate of 28 French crowns per tun for 20 or 30 tuns of wine he bought at Alnwick, in 1543.

§ *Idem*, Vol. XVII., No. 343.

|| Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., p. 510.

¶ *Idem*, Vol. III., p. 517.

On April 20th, 1566, the Council ordered that an inquiry be made into all the ports, creeks and havens on the coast of Cumberland, where smuggling was alleged to take place. It was then proved that ships came from Chester and Liverpool with refuse wines and salt, whilst others brought from Scotland wines which had been bespoken for the provision of the houses on the coast, at Powsfoot Creek, Raven-glass Creek, Whitehaven Creek, Parton Creek, Workington Creek, Skinburness, etc.*

In April, 1572, a ship sent by the Dacre rebels to reconnoitre the coast of Cumberland, bought wine and victuals at Kirkcudbright, where some of the principals amongst them came on land "in their shirts of mail" for the purpose.†

In May, 1601, Martin Merrie and Adam Harber, merchants and burgesses of Ayr, in Scotland, came from Ayr with a ship laden with Gascony wines, which they wished to sell at a better price than they could get in Scotland; they first went to Beaumaris and thence to Liverpool.‡

On January 28th, 1593, the officers of the Port of Chester wrote to Lord Burghley protesting against the imposition of a special additional tax on wine in their port, as follows:—

"The merchants of this city are aggrieved at the impost of 10s. on every tun of wine towards furnishing of wines for Her Majesty's provision of household and 5s. of every tun for wastage. Shortly before the receipt of the letters directing them to collect the same, the merchants had brought in two ships of

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, Eliz., Vol. XIII., No. 13.

† *Idem.* Vol. XXI., No. 38.

‡ *Idem.* Eliz., 1601-1603, p. 40.

wine to the quantity of 100 tuns, the one French barque and the other a Scottish ship. They are aggrieved in respect they pay prise of wines to Her Majesty's Farmer, who, they pretend, dealeth hardly with them, and will have his full prise of four tuns in wine, without composition or allowance, and also in respect that before this time never the like demand hath been made of any other wines for Her Majesty's provision within the County Palatine and Earldom of Chester. Last year the merchants were discharged from payment of wastage, and they pretend there is no wastage due on strangers' bottoms. They have taken sufficient pawn of plate for satisfaction of the same several duties."*

Besides Bristol, Southampton, Lynn, Hull, Chester and many other ports through which wine was distributed inland, many of the towns and places within fifty and even a hundred miles of London, were often supplied from this, by far the most important market of the realm.

At Farley, in Hungerford, claret only cost 30s. the hogshead, in 1488,† and at Hatfield ten tuns of Gascony wine were sold at £8 each in 1551.†

All along the river Thames wine was to be found in great plenty. At Kingston-on-Thames Malmsey was sold at 2s. the gallon, in 1571,† at Windsor, red wine cost 8d. the gallon, in 1456;† it was also the price asked at Henley, in 1518,† and at Bicester, in 1437, and in 1424, when sweet wine cost 1s. 4d. the gallon.†

* Chester, January 28th, 1593. Signed, Gilbert Gerrarde, customer; Alexander Cotes, Controller; Peter Middleton, pro Supervisor.—*Salis-*

bury MSS., Hatfield, Part IV., p. 469.

† Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., p. 510, *et seq.*

At OXFORD, to judge from the extracts from the Corporation accounts and those of Oriel, Magdalen and Corpus Christi Colleges, given by Professor Thorold Rogers,* red and white wine, claret, crete and all sweet wines were plentiful and cheap.

Wine was usually cheaper at Oxford than at any other inland town, which is a sufficient proof of its abundance. It was sent there, not only from London and Bristol, the two nearer ports, but also from Southampton, by cart, and although the distance must have been between seventy and eighty miles, the cost of the carriage from the Hampshire port to the University City was only 4s. per pipe.†

In 1354, a fight in the streets of Oxford between town and gown arose from a dispute between a scholar and a taverner over a quart of wine; one of the results of it was to cause the King to grant to the Chancellor of the University, excluding the Mayor entirely, the complete supervision of the assize of bread, ale and wine and of all victuals.‡

In 1556, Thomas Reynold, Vice-Chancellor, wrote to Cardinal Pole, Chancellor of Oxford, then at Court, asking for the re-enacting of the Act of Parliament, 7 Ed. VI., which “most prudently ordained that in all Oxford there should be but three wine taverns, if it may be without injury; for, since then, eight or more have, under the cloak of pretended loss in providing for the Parliament that was appointed by Her Majesty to be held at Oxford—

* Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., pp. 509 to 518.

† In 1406, six pipes of wine were sent from Southampton to Oxford, in three carts, each drawn by six horses. The return journey occu-

ried ten days and only cost 24s. 10d. in all. Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. IV., pp. 694, 706.

‡ Robert of Avesbury, *De mirabilibus gestis Edwardi tertii*. Edited by Ed. Hearne, 1720, p. 197.

obtained of the late Lord Chancellor licence to sell wine for a term of years, and that to their best advantage, so that some sell Gascony wine at 16d. the gallon, Sack at 2s. 4d., and Malmsey at 2s. 6d.* If this gap be not stopped, neither I (the Vice-Chancellor), nor all the heads of this University can do any good, besides the great impoverishing of the poor scholars, who will have wine whatever its cost."†

According to the researches of Professor Thorold Rogers, red Gascony wine cost £5 6s. 8d. the tun, at Castre, in 1431; 6d. per gallon at Trevarthen, in 1434; 8d. at Ripyngton, in 1437; £7 6s. 8d. and £6 11s. 3d. per tun, and Rhenish, £2 11s. per butt, at Writtle, in Essex, in 1443 and 1444; red wine cost 35s. 5d. per hogshead at Finchale, in 1460, and 40s. in 1462; Gascon wine cost £5 the pipe and Spanish wine £5 6s. 8d. the tun, at Stoke, in 1462; at Hulme, in 1510, white wine and claret cost 8d. per gallon, Rhenish, 1s., Bastard, 1s. 2d., and Malmsey, 1s. 4d.; at Hickling, the butt of Malmsey cost £5 in 1513, and £4 in 1514, when claret was sold at 8d. per gallon and Bastard at 1s.; at St. Osith, Malmsey cost 1s. 1d. the gallon, in 1521; at Stonor, claret cost 25s. the hogshead, and 8d. the gallon, Sack and Malmsey, 10d. the gallon, in 1533; and in 1536, Gascon wine cost 25s. the hogshead, and 8d. the gallon, and Rhenish 1s. the gallon, at Kirling, where claret and white wine cost £4 10s. the hogshead, and Sack 2s. the gallon, in 1577.

* The prices which had been fixed by royal authority at that time were: Gascon wine, 8d.; sweet wine, 12d. per gallon.

† Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, Mary, Vol. VII., pp. 446, 447.

In 1583, Sack cost 2s. and 2s. 6d. per gallon, and Gascony wine £11 per tun, at Kirtling; Rhenish wine cost 2s. per gallon at Mendham, in that same year. In 1586, Sack cost 3s. 3d. at Gawthorp, and claret £24 per tun, at Kirtling. In 1587, claret cost £21 15s. per tun, and Sack 3s. 2d. per gallon, at Gawthorp; whilst Malmsey fetched 3s. 5d. per gallon at Kirtling. In 1588, claret was bought at the rate of £17 12s. per tun, at Gawthorp, and of £20 per tun, at Kirtling, where Sack cost £8 per butt. In 1589, 1590, 1591, claret and white wine cost £20 per tun, at Gawthorp. In 1592, claret cost 2s. 8d. per gallon, and Sack 3s. 4d. per gallon, at Eton, where claret only cost 1s. 10d. per gallon in 1599, and 1s. 8d. in 1600. In 1600, white wine cost 2s. per gallon, and aqua vitæ cost 6s. 8d. and 8s. 8d. per gallon, at Wormleighton.

JERSEY. The following letter of Amias Paulet to Sir Hugh Paulet, November 30th, 1589, bears testimony to the activity of the wine trade in Jersey:—

“Great prejudice is done to the poor people of Jersey by the quantity of wines brought into the island, as they delight too much in drinking, and it is to be lamented that so much money passes from the isles in such unprofitable wares. I am informed that a great number of new angels have been exported from England to St. Malo.”*

* Calenl. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, Vol. IX. **ANGELS** were gold coins lately introduced.

CHAPTER VI.

THE consumption of wine in England during the latter part of the Middle Ages was very extensive, although it showed signs of an approaching decline. Large quantities of wine were required for the royal households, castles and armies, but the nobility and the Church had lost much of their former wealth and power, and did not purchase wine to the same extent as during the fourteenth century.

Although the greater and wider distribution of wealth increased the number of those who could afford to buy wine, it had ceased to be one of the necessities of life within the reach of artisans, as in the thirteenth century, when it cost 2d. or less per gallon, and it had become a luxury, the price of the gallon reaching 2s. before the end of the sixteenth century.

The Kings of England retained the custom of buying part of the supplies of wine they stood in need of direct from Gascony, so long as this province remained under their domination. In 1406, Richard Mackanan, burgess of Bordeaux, and John Melburne, an English merchant, were entrusted with this buying for five years,* at the end of which the duty was entrusted to the King's Butler, with power to go up country (*en la haute pais*).†

* Rot. Vasc., 9-10 Hen. IV., m. 6. | † *Idem*, 11-14 Hen. IV., m. 11.

Henry V. gave a similar commission to Thomas Bolthorpe,* and, during Henry VI.'s reign, another such and more comprehensive commission was given to one, John Fowy, to buy and provide in England, France and Normandy, wine for the royal household.†

After the loss of Bordeaux, no royal officer was ever appointed to go to Gascony on behalf of the Sovereign, who, however, often chartered a number of ships or commissioned some merchants to go to Bordeaux and purchase large quantities of wine for the royal household, army or castles at home.‡

Thus, in 1528, Roger Basyng received £1,045 7s. to freight two ships with Bordeaux wine for the King's provision. He bought 152 tuns of red, white and claret wine for the sum of £618 19s. 6d. free on board Bordeaux. The expenses of bringing the wine to London, including lighterage from Blackwall to the crane in the Vintry, 4d. a tun, cranage, 2d. a tun, winding and rolling, 4d. a tun, cooperage, freight, etc., amounted to £265 12s. 11d., brought up the total cost of the shipment to £884 12s. 5d. or £5 16s. 4d. per tun.§

In that same year (1528), Henry VIII. had commissioned eleven other merchants to buy wine for his use; they purchased no less than 563 tuns, one tierce and one "carte" at Bordeaux, at a total cost of £3,812 11s. 2½d.; one William Formar bought at

* Rot. Vasc. 4 Hen. V., m. 3.

† By Bill of Thomas Chaucer, Chief Butler of England. Calend. Patent Rolls, 5 Hen. VI., Part II., m. 14.

‡ See the letters of Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor in the

Calend. of State Papers, Gayangos, Vol. V., Part I., p. 262. September 23rd. 1534.

§ Brewer, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. IV., Part II., No. 5082. December 31st, 1528.

the same time 21 tuns of Orleans wine, at Roanne, for the King, at a cost of £112 17s. 4d.*

In February, 1530, £16 4s. was paid to the "serjeant of the cellar" for three tuns of white wine of Gaillac;† in December of the same year three hogsheads of wine were placed in the cellar of the Tower, at Blackheath, two hogsheads of wine were housed at the *Three Cranes*, for the King, and two tierces and one "carte" of wine were "cellared in the King's private chamber."‡ In February, 1531, there is a mention of a "vessell of sodde wyne" brought to the King,§ and in August, 1531, an entry of £1,000 being given for the King's provision of wine to the same Roger Basyng who had been to Bordeaux on a similar mission in 1528.|| In December, 1531, 5s. was paid to the wine porters who laid down wine in the King's privy cellar,¶ and in the following month 12s. was paid to the serjeant of the cellar for laying in wines for the King.** In July, 1532, Roger Basing was again entrusted with the charge of procuring wine for the royal household, £1,500 being given him to that effect.††

In November, 1532, two "botells" of new wine were sent to the King.‡‡

In 1539, £1,454 was delivered out of the royal coffers for the King's provision of wines.§§ In

* Brewer, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. IV., Part II., No. 5109.

† The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII., from November, 1529, to December, 1532, edited by N. H. Nicolas, p. 24.

‡ *Idem*, pp. 98, 99.

§ *Idem*, p. 109.

|| *Idem*, p. 155.

¶ *Idem*, p. 182. In the text "pryway chambre" was written in the first instance, but "sellor" substituted for "chambre" after.

** *Idem*, p. 190.

†† *Idem*, p. 231.

‡‡ *Idem*, p. 276.

§§ Gairdner, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. XIV., Part I., No. 826.

January, 1543, no less than sixteen English ships, laden with wine for Henry VIII.'s annual provision, were captured by the Scots.* The following month, on February 27th, the King of France was pleased to grant that Henry's "Sommelier" at Bordeaux should be suffered to depart with the wines he had bought there.†

In 1543, Henry VIII. contracted with one of the Steelyard merchants for a supply of 800 ohms of Rhenish wine, at 30s. each, 400 before Christmas, 1543, and 400 before the ensuing June, 1544.‡

In 1547, merchants trading with France petitioned the Council, requesting payment for the wines supplied by them for the royal household during the last fourteen months.||

In 1548, four English vessels coming from Bordeaux, laden with wine of Gascony for the King's provision, were captured by some Scots and brought into Brest.§

Besides the provisions of wine made abroad on behalf of the King, purchases to no small extent were regularly made in London, Bristol, Southampton and Hull for the requirements of the royal household in different parts of the country.

Thus, on November 23rd, 1404, a grant was issued in favour of John Nicol, vintner, to whom £661 11s. was due for certain wines bought from him for the royal household during the previous year,

* Gairdner, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. XVIII., Part I., No. 57.

† *Idem*, Part I., No. 217.

‡ *Idem*, Part II., No. 449, Sec. 22.

§ Calend. of State Papers, Foreign Series, Ed. VI., No. 77.

|| *Idem*, Domestic Series, Adenda, Vol. XVII., No. 20.

as appeared by a Bill under the seal of Thomas Chaucer, the King's Butler.*

When wine could be had of the merchants, the royal butler, or his deputies,† purchased whatever was required for the King's table, but it was sometimes found necessary to obtain wine for the royal castles or armies, and therefore in large quantities, either in the summer or early in the autumn, that is before the new wines had arrived and when stocks of previous vintages were practically exhausted. In such cases, orders were issued to local authorities in all parts of England to seize, wherever they could find them the required number of tuns or pipes and have them sent to a specified place to some duly appointed royal officer.

On July 3rd, 1403, Thomas Walsingham was commissioned to take wines for the expenses of the household,‡ and on September 12th, 1403, the Sheriffs of Bristol were ordered to send wine and victuals to the castle and town of Newport for the sustenance of the men at arms and archers there. On the same day, the Bishop of Worcester was ordered to take thirteen tuns and one pipe of wine in Worcester and Hereford, and to bring ten tuns to the castle of *Brekenok*, two tuns to the castle of *Hay*, one tun to the castle of *Kenflye*, and one pipe to the castle of *Dynas*; on the same day also, Peter Courtenay was ordered to take fourteen tuns of wine in the County of

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 6 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 22. This sum was to be paid from the customs of wools and woolfells shipped in the port of London after Easter, 1403.

† On July 4th, 1461, Robert Stowell, yeoman of the King's butlery, was appointed to provide

wines in divers places within the realm, for the household, because John Wenlock, Knight, chief butler, was fully occupied. Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 12; 4 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 11.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 4 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 19d.

Somerset, ten of which were to be sent to the castle of *Kemerdyn*, two to the castle of *Kedwelly* and two to *Sweynseye*; again, on the same day, the Bishop of Exeter was ordered to take sixteen tuns and one pipe of wine in Devonshire, six tuns of which were to be sent to the castle of *Lampedervaur*, ten tuns to the castle of *Cardygan* and one pipe to the castle of *Emelyn*.*

All the royal castles were supplied with wine,† and soldiers also received an allowance of wine, at any rate when on active service, and specially when on a foreign campaign.

The armies of the Lancastrians never lacked wine during their campaigns in France,‡ but the troops sent by Henry VIII. to help the Emperor invade France, in 1544, remained a long time inactive through the lack of supplies, "the greater part," writes the Emperor's Ambassador in London, "having to go three or four days without drinking anything but water, a sort of privation," he adds, "which military men seldom endure without falling into despair."§

A couple of months later, the reverse had come about; the imperial army had entered France and occupied Epernay, where wine and provisions were found in such plenty that the Germans drank more

* Further supplies of wine were sent to the towns and castles of *Kemerdyn*, *Kydewelly* and *Ilanstaffan* in South Wales, during the following year. *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 6 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 39d, November 4th, 1404.

† See *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 4 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 25. "Pardon to William Notebem, victualler of the castle of Dover, of ten tuns of red wine delivered to him by

John Payn, late chief butler, which wine, not being consumed, had become putrid and of no value."

‡ In 1415, Henry V. asked the Constable of Guienne to send 700 casks of wine to his army in Normandy.—*Darnal, Supplément des Chroniques de Bordeaux*, p. 42.

§ *Calend. of State Papers, Gayangos*, Vol. VII., p. 234. Letter of Chapuys to the Emperor, July 7th, 1544.

than was good for them and began to be insolent and unruly, the Emperor having to order that two thousand casks of wine be broken and the wine destroyed, to save his soldiers from getting drunk *en masse*.*

Entertaining was not carried out on so gorgeous a scale at Court during the latter part of the Middle Ages as in earlier times, but the occasions of those festivities which called for good cheer were much more frequent, since the greater facilities of communication rendered the visits of foreign princes or exalted dignitaries of common occurrence. At all State banquets, beer was now commonly served, as well as wine, which only formed half or part of the liquor consumed. Thus, when the French Queen was entertained at Greenwich by Henry VIII., on October 7th, 1518, there were three tuns and two pieces of wine, and six tuns and seven hogsheads of ale consumed, the former being charged in the royal household expenses at £13 3s. 4d., and the latter at £7 14s. 2d.†

Henry VIII. appears to have taken a certain pride in having well-stocked cellars at home, and in excelling both his allies and rivals in the choice and abundance of his wines, when abroad.

When he went to meet Francis I. in 1520, it is said that the house built for the King of England at the Field of Cloth of Gold had a cellar containing

* "... porque el Emperador mando que se derramasen mas de 2,000 botas de vino porque los alemanes no se apoderasen dellas; que comencaban ya a se revolver como suelen hacerlo."—Calend. of State Papers, Gayangos, Vol. VII., p. 349.

† Brewer, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., p. 1514. The purveyor's wages for this festive gathering were only 2½d.

no less than 3,000 butts of the choicest wines, Malmseys, and every sort of good wine, the best that could be found in Flanders and France.*

The quantities of wine required for the royal household, castles, and armies were considerable, but they were further swelled by the great number of casks of wine given yearly by every monarch to his own relations, friends or servants. Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet, was in receipt of a cask of wine, annually, granted to him by Richard II., whose gift was renewed by Henry IV.† This monarch granted to the men and women of Cirencester two casks of wine for their service in capturing the Earls of Kent and Salisbury;‡ to Thomas Brette, he granted for life a butt of Romeney or Malvesey in the port of London, and two tuns of wine of Gascony in the port of Hull;§ to Thomas Bolour, of Kent, he granted for life four tuns of wine yearly from the King's prise in the port of Bridgewater (Bruggewater);|| to Elizabeth Elmham, he also granted for life two tuns of wine yearly, from the King's prise in the ports of Ipswich, Yarmouth, or Lynn, or elsewhere within the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.¶ Such grants were never very important, but they were so numerous that they necessitated a very considerable quantity of wine.**

* Calend. of State Papers, Venice, Vol. III., Nos. 88, 94.

† Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, pp. 533, 536.

‡ *Idem*, p. 539. July 5th, 1400.

§ Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 28. October 2nd, 1399.

|| *Idem*, m. 12. October 27th, 1399.

¶ *Idem*, m. 5. November 3rd, 1399.

** In the Calend. Patent Rolls alone, the following references are those of grants of wine by Henry IV., during the first year of his reign only: 1 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 28, 12, 5, 3, 2, 1; Part II., m. 30, 28, 25, 23, 20, 19, 6, 5; Part III., m. 36, 30, 25, 22, 18, 15, 14, 12, 9, 5, 1; Part IV., m. 33, 32, 29, 15, 1; Part V., m. 31, 29, 27, 26, 23, 15, 13, 1; Part VI., m. 42, 8, 4; Part VII., m. 39, 38, 35, 34, 28, 24, 20; Part VIII., m. 39, 34, 32, 20, 19, 14, 12, 11.

In 1461, Edward IV. granted to the prior and convent of Henton, in Somerset, a tun of wine yearly in the port of Bristol, and also a tun of sweet wine, "bastard or oseie, as they may choose," yearly, in the said port, for the sustenance of their bodies, weakened by their vigils and fasts, that they may pray for the good estate of the King, and for his soul after death, and for the souls of his progenitors.* Grants, especially such as were made in favour of religious houses, were scrupulously renewed by every Sovereign; their number went on increasing from reign to reign, and Henry VIII. found himself obliged to grant money in lieu of wine in many instances. In 1512, the prior and monks of the Carthusian monastery of Shene were granted an annuity of £12 instead of two tuns and four puncheons of red Gascon wine, granted to them by Henry V., in 1415, and confirmed by Henry VII., because they were unable to obtain the wine, either from the port of London or the wines of the royal household, which both "were overcharged with such grants."†

Again, in 1516, the prioress and monastery of Dartford were granted an annuity of £16 out of the customs of London, in lieu of four tuns of wine granted to them by patent of Edward III., in 1357.‡

The royal cellars received from time to time a few casks of some choice vintage, sent by either a friendly foreign potentate, or an ambassador abroad.

Henry VIII., for instance, received, in 1513, from William Knyght and John Style, his ambassadors

* Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Ed. IV., Part VI., m. 34, 32.

† Brewer, Letters and Papers,

Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. I., No. 3315.

‡ *Idem*, Vol. II., Part I., No. 201.

at the Court of the King of Aragon, some white wine of "San Martyns."* In 1542, Mary, Dowager Queen of Hungary, sent him some casks of wine which were thankfully acknowledged,† and he also received a present of Bordeaux wine, in 1543, from Paris.‡

The consorts and children of several Kings of England were not unfrequently favoured with such gifts of a cask, or even of a few bottles of wine, from noblemen or officials, who probably wished to gain their favour thereby.

Elizabeth of York, the Queen of Henry VII., received two "barrels of Rhenish wine," in September, 1502, which were sent to her at Langley by the Lord Mayor of London.§ The following month a servant of Sir John Shaa, Knight, brought her two vessels of Rhenish wine from London to Esthampsted.|| The Queen was evidently fond of Rhine wines, since she also bought some in the following December.¶

The most unfortunate queen, Catherine of Aragon, was only given new wine for her drinking, although this did not suit her failing health, and she begged, but in vain, to have some other. In 1534, she sent to Chapuys, the Emperor's Ambassador, for a cask of old Spanish wine, which was given her, but it appears that the servant who executed her commands was dismissed for the offence of obeying

* Brewer, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Vol. I., No. 4267. Bacci (*De Nat. Vin. Lib. VII.*) mentions the wine of San Martin amongst the best of the kingdom of "Toledo."

† *Calend. of State Papers, Gayangos*, Vol. VI., Part II., p. 47. July 3rd, 1542.

‡ *Calend. of State Papers, Foreign Series*, Vol. IX., p. 326.

§ *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*. Edited by N. H. Nicolas. London. 1830, p. 48.

|| *Idem*, p. 52.

¶ *Idem*, p. 84.

her orders, the King not choosing her to drink or eat anything but what he provided for her.*

Her daughter, Princess, and afterwards Queen, Mary, received presents of wine from Lady Kingston, who sent her some flagons of it in November, 1537,† from the Duke of Suffolk, who presented her with a hogshead of wine in April, 1538,‡ from Lady Lisle, who also sent her a hogshead in July, 1544,§ and from others. She also bought wine for her household, although the very limited means at her command never allowed her to purchase any large quantity.||

The consumption of wine by the lords spiritual and temporal was greatly encouraged by the special licences, exemptions of duty and other privileges which were often granted to them by the Sovereign.

Henry IV. gave one of his clerks, Robert de Faryngton, a licence to bring over from Ireland to England four tuns of wine free of all customs and subsidy.¶ The wine sent by the Duke of Brittany to his sister Joan, Lady de Baset, was also exempted from all duties.** Twenty casks and one pipe of red Gascony wine, imported in 1411, for the use of the Prince of Wales were likewise exempted from duty.†† The collectors of the subsidy in London were ordered,

* *Calend. of State Papers, Gay-angos, Vol. V., Part I., p. 82.* " . . . et ne veult ce roy quelle boive ni mange que de ce quil luy fera pourveoir."

† *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen Mary, by Frederick Madden, London, 1831, p. 46.*

‡ *Idem, p. 67.*

§ *Idem, p. 160.*

|| *Idem, pp. 3, 27, 53, 56, 58, 63, 68, 79, 120, 161, 162.* In 1537, a

hogshead of wine was bought for the Princess's physician, Dr. Michel. *Idem, p. 28.*

¶ *Calend. Patent Rolls, 3 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 1; licence renewed for three years, November 28th, 1403. Idem, 5 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 23.*

** *Syllabus to Rymer's Fœdera, p. 529. June 18th, 1396.*

†† *Idem, p. 569. October 10th, 1411.*

in 1418, to allow the wines sent to Queen Joan to pass free of duty.*

Similar exemptions and privileges were granted by all subsequent Sovereigns to noblemen and religious houses importing wine for their own consumption.

Henry VI. allowed, in 1440, a remission of all duties on the wines imported by the Duke of Orleans.†

Edward IV. granted to Lord Herbert, in 1465, all that could be saved of a great ship of his, called *Gabriell*, which he had sent at great expense to foreign parts, and which, on its return to England, laden with divers wines and other goods, was wrecked off the coast of Ireland, although all that was cast ashore belonged by right to the King as wreck of sea.‡

In 1482, Edward granted to the prior and convent of Christchurch, Canterbury, a licence to import thirty-three casks of French wine yearly.§

Richard III. gave a similar licence to Peter Puissant, Secretary of the Duke of Austria, for the importation of 100 tuns of Gascon or other wine.||

In 1483, a ship of Henry, Duke of Northumberland, was bringing wines and other goods to England when it was captured by Brittany pirates.¶

Henry VII. granted to John Meawtis, his French Secretary, and to Roger Machado, alias Richemont, Clarencieux King of Arms, a licence to import 100 tuns of Gascony wines.**

* Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 606. July 20th, 1418.

† *Idem*, p. 667. June 22nd, 1440.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 5 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 21.

§ Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 714. October 21st, 1482.

|| *Idem*, p. 717. August 19th, 1484.

¶ Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Ric. III., Part I., m. 4. July 28th, 1483.

** Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 729. November 17th, 1494.

Henry VIII. granted to the same John Meawtis, who was also his French Secretary, a licence to import 400 tuns, and to his surgeon, Anthony Ciabo, a licence to import 600 tuns of Gascony wine.* Many men of his Court were given such licences by Henry, including the Master of the Rolls, Grooms of the Robes and of the Chamber, the Dean of the King's Chapel, Yeomen of the Guard, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Worcester, etc.†

In 1538, five ships of Wriothsesley's arrived at Southampton, three with Malmseys and two with Sacks.‡

But many never ran the risk of importing their wines direct, and purchased them in England, sometimes in considerable quantities.

In 1405, the Countess of Warwick bought three casks and sixteen and a half gallons of red wine, one hogshead fifty-two gallons and three quarts of white wine, twenty-two gallons of oseye, and six gallons of vernage.§

In 1443, the Duke of Buckingham bought eleven tuns, thirteen pipes, and fifty-four gallons of Gascon wine, and one butt (thirty-six gallons) of Rhenish wine for his Essex seat, at Writtle, where a further provision was sent the following year, consisting of forty-eight casks, and one pipe of Gascon wine, five ohms of Rhenish, and twelve pipes and fifty-four gallons of some other wine not otherwise described.||

* Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 755. August 17th, 1517; p. 777, September 25th, 1539. Brewer, Letters relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. I., No. 5233; Vol. II., Part II., No. 4389.

† See Brewer, Letters relating to the Reign of Henry VIII.

‡ Gairdner, Documents of the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. XIII. Part I., No. 1196.

§ Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., pp. 507, 545; also 33 gallons of vinegar.

|| *Idem*, Vol. III., p. 511.

In all the great households, wine was kept and the cellar was under the charge of a special servant or "officer," called "Yeoman or Groom of the Cellar."* According to the household expenses of the fifth Earl of Northumberland, a quart of wine was allowed every day for the breakfast of the Earl and Countess, and a "pottell" of wine for their supper, at their Yorkshire seat Wresill, in 1512. Their children and numerous household officers and servants had to be satisfied with beer. The yearly provision was composed of three tuns of red wine, five tuns of claret, two tuns and two hogsheads of white wine, in all ten tuns and two hogsheads; half this quantity was to be bought in the autumn and last from December to March, and the other half was to be purchased in the spring and to last until Michaelmas. No provision appears to have been made for the months of October and November.†

In or near London, the consumption of wine by all exalted personages was far greater than in the Percy family, in a remote part of Yorkshire.

The Earls of Rutland, for instance, purchased a great quantity of different wines for Holywell, their London residence, Belvoir Castle, in Leicestershire, and their manor of Eagle, in Lincolnshire.

Thus, in 1522, William Crowe, and his fellows, wine-drawers of London, received 6s. 8d. for "leidyng and cowcheeng of ij tonnes of Gascon wyne, and oone fatte of Renysh wyne at Halywell"; at the same time

* The yeoman of the cellar to Lady Richmond is mentioned in the Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary, p. 17.

† Household Expenses of the Earl of Northumberland, pp. 2, 6, 15, 73, 88, etc.

another tun of new Gascon wine was bought from Guytons.*

In 1532, Eleanor, Countess of Rutland, paid 30s. to Tyrry, vintner, for a hogshead of claret given to Master Coke.†

In 1537, the Earl of Rutland bought at Totham (Tottenham ?) some claret and Malmsey.‡

In 1539, claret was again purchased, and in 1541, they drank Sack and Muscadine at Belvoir Castle, where some Gascony wine was also sent, in December, from Boston. During that year, claret, red and white wine was also bought and sent to Holywell, as well as Muscadel, Sack and French wine ; one Frossell, who was entrusted with the mission to choose the wines in London, received, on one occasion, 10d. per day for his pains and took two days to find the suitable provision.§

In 1542, one hogshead of claret was bought from the *Bull's Head*, Cheapside, at the low rate of £5 per tun, as well as six hogsheads of claret, red and white wine purchased elsewhere, in London, at the rate of £8 per tun ; these seven hogsheads and a butt of Sack were sent to Holywell, at a cost of only 16d. At the same time, another hogshead of claret, bought of George Barne, of Cheapside, was also delivered at Holywell, the carriage from Thames Street to the Earl's house being 8d.|| In 1542, a rundlet of Muscadine was given by one Basche to Lady Rutland, the carriage from Grantham to Belvoir Castle being only 8d.¶

* MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, Vol. IV., p. 262.

† *Idem*, p. 273.

‡ *Idem*, p. 277.

§ *Idem*, pp. 310, 311, 312, 320.

|| *Idem*, p. 329.

¶ *Idem*, p. 324.

In 1543, £4 13s. 4d. was due to one Barnes, vintner of London, for a butt of Malvesey supplied to the lately deceased Earl of Rutland, and, in 1546, 6s. 8d. was paid to Anthony Digby for ypcras bought when "my Lorde was syke."*

In August, 1571, R. Gonenn wrote to the Earl of Rutland as follows: "I have arranged for the delivery in the river of London of twenty tuns of good wine, viz., six of Gascony, six of Orléans, four of Burgundy, and four of sweet Graves, for six and a half pounds sterling."†

In March, 1575, Robert Wethins, writing from London to the Earl of Rutland, at Newark, said: "I have received your letter telling me to provide you with a piece of *Reynesshe win* and eleven hogsheads of *wyn of Court*. I think there will be no wine of Court in London this year; some Rhenish wine is expected every hour; about twenty-four tuns of French wine have come. It is held at £21 a tun. There is also good Gascony wine at £20 the tun."‡

More Rhenish wine was bought for the Earl's household in 1586, and in 1603;§ Greek wine was also sent to Belvoir Castle in 1600, and Malaga wine is mentioned in the accounts of 1602.||

The purchases of the Earl of Shrewsbury were not so considerable; four hogsheads of claret, two of red wine, one of white wine and a puncheon of French (freeche?) wine were dispatched from Coldharbour to his place at Wingfield, in May, 1516.¶ In November 1517, his agent sent him a tun of new Gascon

* MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, Vol. IV., p. 340.

† *Idem*, Vol. I., p. 94.

‡ *Idem*, p. 103.

§ *Idem*, Vol. IV., pp. 388, 448.

|| *Idem*, Vol. IX., pp. 428, 438.

¶ Brewer, Letters relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., No. 1935.

wine and wrote saying that he could not find any Orleans, Beaune, French, white, nor Rhenish wine, as none had reached London at the time.*

In 1518, the executors of the Countess of Richmond accounted for £28 3s. 4d., value of the wines left in her cellar.† In 1524, in the Household Book of Katherine, Countess of Devon, there is an entry of over a hundred pounds for the purchase of Gascon (red) wine, claret, Malmsey, Romaney, and Muscadell.‡

In 1537, eight tuns of wine were delivered to Lord Darcy's house, at Templehurst.§ In 1538, Devereux, Lord Ferrers, asked Lord Lisle to have some wine sent from Calais to his residence in Mark Lane, City.||

During that same year, Lord Lisle, who was Deputy of Calais, received similar demands from Cromwell, then Lord Privy Seal, who asked for French and Gascon wine,¶ from the Earl of Essex, who also wanted French and Gascon wines,** and others. Elynor, Countess of Rutland, received wine at Enfield, from Calais,†† and John Hussee, Lord Lisle's agent in London, who usually transmitted all such demands, wrote to Lady Lisle, on April 9th, 1538, saying, "Mrs. Whalley gapes for a piece of wine."‡‡

In 1576, Lord Cecil bought no less than seventy tuns of wine at £7 7s. 8d. per tun.§§

* Brewer, Letters relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., No. 3807.

† *Idem*, Vol. II., Part II., No. 4183.

‡ *Idem*, Vol. IV., Part I., No. 771.

§ Gairdner, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. XII., Part I., No. 1258.

|| *Idem*, Vol. XIII., Part II., No. 631. October 17th, 1538.

¶ *Idem*, Vol. XIII., Part I., Nos. 996, 997. May 14th, 1538.

** *Idem*, No. 688. April 6th, 1538.

†† *Idem*, No. 135.

‡‡ *Idem*, No. 717.

§§ MSS. of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield House, in the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 215.

In 1594, when the inventory of Sir William Fairfax was taken at Gillny Castle, in Yorkshire, there were twelve hogsheads and one pipe in the cellar.*

The Lord Mayor of London, Sir Richard Gresham, also wrote to Lord Lisle in 1538, desiring him to send to London a piece of the best French wine, for which he promised to pay the bringer.†

In 1539, the Lord Chancellor received some French and Gascon wine from Calais.‡

The Countess Dowager of Huntingdon also purchased wine abroad, an entire remission of duty being granted to her, in 1599, by the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer for some tuns of wine imported for the use of her household.§

In September, 1570, Sir Thomas Gargrave sued the Lord Treasurer "to be allowed four tuns of wine, as of old"; for the last two years this allowance had been reduced to two tuns, and Sir Thomas begs to have at least three tuns, if it is not possible to give him four, although four tuns even were not sufficient for the needs of his house.||

Such exemptions had perforcedly to be limited when, during Elizabeth's reign, the customs were farmed out, so that the farmer be able to know the extent of the loss of revenue he must be prepared to meet on account of these grants.

According to the schedule of the "allowance to sundry estates and degrees of the new impost upon wines to be provided for their household," a document

* *Archæologia*, Vol. XLVIII., p. 121.

† Gairdner, *Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Vol. XIII., Part I., No. 265. April 7th, 1538.

‡ *Idem*, Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 536. November 17th, 1539.

§ *Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1598-1601*, p. 369.

|| *Idem*, *Eliz., Addenda*, Vol. XXI., No. 86.

dated November, 1561, exemptions were to be granted varying from ten tuns for a Lord Chancellor, archbishop or duke, to two tuns for justices of the peace and for knights.*

In November, 1571, a note was thus issued giving the number of persons discharged by the Queen and her Council from the impost on wines. There were ten bishops allowed from twelve to three tuns each, the Ambassadors of France and Spain, who were allowed each twelve tuns or "more, if needful," the privy councillors, the law and other State officers, noble ladies, thirty-three knights, and one esquire, who were each allowed from ten to one tun. It was further specified that any lady "who is of good reputation for hospitality," and is omitted from this list, may have a meet allowance, provided the total allowed does not exceed 1,000 tuns yearly. Those who brought in their own wines from abroad were allowed to import them free, whilst all the wine destined for the Queen's household was to be free of duty, on certificate of her household officers.†

The limit of 1,000 tuns "to be free of duty" for the nobility was evidently not thought excessive, nor even quite sufficient, since Alderman Haughton, when he made an offer for the farm of the customs, in 1595, proposed to allow 1,050 tuns free of duty for the nobility, and 200 tuns for the Queen's household.‡

In 1600, the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London were granted an allowance of the impost

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Eliz., Vol. XX., No. 31, and Addenda, Vol. XI.

† *Idem*, Eliz., Addenda, Vol. XX., No. 93. (King Edward VII. is the

first English monarch who has paid duty on the wines purchased for the royal household.)

‡ *Idem*, 1595-1597, p. 19.

of wines according to the following rules:—The Lord Mayor could have six tuns duty free, the sheriffs four tuns each, and the twenty-four aldermen one tun each.*

Foreign Ambassadors were always specially favoured as regards such exemptions of duty. In 1543, the French Ambassador was given a licence to send his servant, Thomas de Noguy, over sea to fetch sixty tuns of wine for his use.†

In 1568, the Spanish Ambassador asked to be allowed the impost on twenty-five tuns of wine.‡

In 1593, the French Ambassador asked to be allowed to import no less than 600 tuns of French wine free of custom, between Michaelmas, 1593, and Michaelmas, 1594.§ There is, however, every reason to believe that this quantity was not only for his own use, and that the Ambassador had some speculative scheme in view. Trading in wines, although no longer carried out by the Sovereign, was occasionally indulged in by some of his most exalted subjects; the Duke of Norfolk, for instance, asked and received permission, in 1483, to buy 100 casks of wine of France, Normandy and Guienne, and to sell them in England.||

On December 18th, 1598, Monsieur Noël de Carron wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, saying that his late father had always granted a warrant for the free import of his own wine, which amounted to six tuns

* Sharpe, Analytical Index to the Series of Records known as the Remembrancia, preserved amongst the Archives of the City of London, p. 208.

† Gairdner, Documents relating to the Reign of Henry VIII., Vol. XVIII., No. 623, sec. 46. May 9th, 1543.

‡ Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547–1580, p. 322. November 12th, 1568.

§ *Idem*, 1591–1594, p. 370.

|| Rot. Franc., 1 Ric. III., m. 15, October 2nd, 1483.

per annum ; he therefore hopes that, as his provision of wine is expected by the first fleet from Bordeaux, the same privilege may be accorded him to pay no duty nor custom on these wines.*

Although the consumption of wine in the royal household and the houses of the nobility was still considerable, it did not increase during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in anything like the same proportion as amongst the mercantile classes, whose wealth and political importance was far greater than in preceding ages.

Few, however, amongst the richer commoners, kept wine in bulk in their own houses for their daily needs and those of their family and guests ; Edward VI. had even prohibited, in 1553, any commoner to keep more than ten gallons of wine for his private use in his house, unless he was worth 100 marks a year, viz., £66 13s. 4d.—the income of a rich man in those days.†

By far the most important quantity of wine consumed in towns, large and small, throughout the land, was drunk in taverns ; they were the social and political rendezvous of all men who could afford the price of a pint of wine and the leisure to enjoy it in company of their fellow-citizens.

The number of taverns had grown to such an extent during the reign of Henry VIII., that his son endeavoured to suppress a great many ; his legislation on the subject, however, was conceived in such an intolerant spirit, and provided such extreme measures, that it never was possible of application.

According to the Statute of 7 Edward VI., already

* Salisbury MSS., Part VIII., p. 507.

† Statutes of the Realm, 7 Ed. VI., cap. 5.

referred to, no one was allowed to keep a tavern or retail wine without the Mayor's licence, in towns and cities, or that of the justices of the peace in market towns. Two taverns and no more were to be allowed in each town, with the exception of London, where forty were tolerated; York, which was allowed eight, Bristol, where six taverns were permitted; Norwich, Hull, Exeter, Gloucester, Winchester, Canterbury, Cambridge and Newcastle-on-Tyne, each being allowed four taverns; Westminster, Lincoln, Shrewsbury, Salisbury, Hereford, Worcester, Southampton, Ipswich, Westchester, Oxford, and Colchester, in each of which three taverns were permitted.*

It was also during the reign of Edward VI. that taverns were ordered to be closed on Sunday before 11 a.m. and during Evensong time.†

During the reign of Elizabeth, however, the number of taverns went on increasing rapidly; the Act of 7 Edward VI. limiting their number was not repealed, but the Queen granted to certain favoured persons, either in consideration of services rendered or money paid, the power of licensing taverns over and above those assigned by Act of Parliament. Sir Walter Raleigh was granted such a licence, on August 9th, 1588, to remain in force for the ensuing thirty years.‡

* Statutes of the Realm, 7 Ed. VI., cap. 5. The preamble of the Act reads thus:—"For the avoyding of many inconveniences, muche evill rule and commune resorte of misruled persones used and frequented in many tavernes of late newly sette uppe in very greate noubre in backe lanes, corners and suspicious places within the Cytie of London, and in divers other townes and villages within this Realme . . ."

† Letter Book R, fo. 96. November 13th, 4 Ed. VI. This prohibition was confirmed the following year, when it was also applied to all vintners and retailers of wines, victuallers, tipplers, etc. Letter Book R, fo. 157b. December, 5 Ed. VI.

‡ Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1598-1601, p. 341.

Originally, nothing but wine was sold in taverns, but it appears that during Elizabeth's reign some London taverners retailed beer as well, and served their customers with bread and meat, to the great indignation of ale-house keepers and proprietors of cook-shops, who applied to the municipal authorities for restraint.

In 1582, the Lord Mayor appointed Commissioners to search records and present to the Court all past ordinances made against vintners, as well as new laws, and "to consider whether the Mayor may rule and order them from selling and uttering strong beer and ale, and from tabling and victualling within their houses or no."* As no restrictive measures are recorded as a consequence of the researches of this Commission, it may be safely inferred that no legal means were found to prevent taverners from selling beer as well as wine, and catering as they thought fit for their customers.

Many of the names of London Elizabethan taverns have been preserved in the Letter Books of the Guildhall. It is true that most of them owe this distinction to the fact that the searchers found defective wines in their cellars and reported them, but it would not be fair to infer from this circumstance that they sold inferior wines; it is far more probable that those taverns where defective wine was found almost every year were the largest and had a considerable stock in their cellars, being consequently much more liable to lose some casks of unsold wine, in an age when the art of making lasting wines and the science of keeping them were unknown or very imperfectly comprehended.

* Letter Book X, fo. 230b. July 7th, 25 Elizabeth.

The number of taverns in the City must have been very considerable indeed, since, in the very imperfect records at our disposal, there is a list of over a hundred names.

To the east of the Mansion House, in Cornhill and Lombard Street, were many noted taverns; in Cornhill, the *Castel* (1581), the *Bull* (1573), the *Bull's Head* (1578), and the *Queen's Head* (1573); in Lombard Street the *Horse's Head* (1583), and the *Cardinal's Hat*, which was given by Simon Eyre, in 1459, "to the brotherhood of our Lady in St. Mary's Woolnotts," and which had not changed its unmistakeably Catholic sign in 1581, at a time when the persecution of the old faith of the people was at its worst.

But, far more famous than any of these, was the *Pope's Head* tavern at the corner of Cornhill and an alley leading to Lombard Street. The wine-drawers of the *Pope's Head* tavern would, in the time of Henry VI., stand in Cornhill and stop passers by saying, "Sir, will you drink a pint of wine?" To which some answered, "A penny spend I may," and went into the tavern, where they drank their wine and had bread, if they liked, for which no charge was made.

In 1464, this tavern was flourishing and it also withstood the fury of all anti-Catholic persecutions, being still known as the *Pope's Head* tavern in 1668, and until it was finally pulled down in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

In Gracechurch Street, there were the *Three Tuns* (1568), the *Sun* (1577), the *Harrow* (1577), and the *Spread Eagle* (1581).

In Leadenhall Street, the *Greyhound* is mentioned

in 1568, 1580, and 1583, and the *Queen's Head* in 1581 and 1583.

In Fenchurch Street, the *Martin*, or probably *St. Martin's*, was in existence in 1528, and the *Star* in 1577, but the most famous was the *King's Head*, at the top of Mark Lane, where Queen Elizabeth "dined on pork and peas" on November 17th, 1558, when she came forth from her confinement in the Tower.

In Bishopsgate Street, was the *White Hart* tavern, which is said to have been built in 1480; and at the top of Houndsditch was the *Dolphin*, which belonged to Margaret Ricroft, widow, who died in 1513. By the Steelyard, the stronghold of the Hanse merchants, was the *Maiden Head* (1573); in Shoreditch, was the *Pyckerell* (1583), whilst the *Bell* (1581) and the *White Lion* (1583) were noted taverns within Aldgate; the *Three Tuns* (1580) and the *King's Head* (1581) were also famous houses without Aldgate. Further east, at Barking, the *Rose* was a celebrated tavern, mentioned in 1554 and 1578 in the Guildhall Letter Books.

Nearer the river were the *Horse's Head* (1579 and 1583), and the *Ship* (1581), in Tower Street; the *Salutation* (1573, 1578), in Billingsgate; another *Salutation* and the *Horse's Head*, in Thames Street; the *Hart* (1580), at the head of London Bridge, on the City side, and the *Bear* "at Bridgefoot," i.e., at the foot of London Bridge, on the Southwark side. This inn was the resort of the aristocratic pleasure-seekers as early as the reign of Richard III. Sir John Howard went there to drink wine and shoot at the target, and it was repeatedly visited by him in 1463 and 1464.

In Fish Street, there was the *King's Head* (1583), and in New Fish Street, there were the *King's Head* and *Castle* (1568), and the *Dolphin* (1581, 1583).

In the Vintry, there were the *Three Tuns* (1528), the *Three Cranes* (1578), the *Three Swans* (1580), and the *Emperor's Head* (1583). In Dowgate, there was the *Swan* tavern (1578).

Coming back to the Mansion House, near which stood the famous *Ship* tavern (1573, 1583), "over against the Exchange," and the *Red Lion* (1583), in St. Clement's Lane, and proceeding westwards, many noted houses were to be seen in Cheapside—the *Bull's Head*, which was in existence in 1517 and 1578; the *Goat*, also dating from 1517; the *Crown*, more ancient than either, which was kept, in 1467, by a certain Walter Walters, who lost his head for having made an innocent Cockney pun, saying he would make his son heir to the Crown.

Of great antiquity and fame was also the *Mitre*, in Cheapside, mentioned in the Vestry Books of St. Michael, Cheapside, before the year 1475, and in the Guildhall Letter Books in 1578. The *Horse Head* tavern, in Cheapside, witnessed the assemblies and discussions of Parker and other "reformed" ecclesiastics, in 1559, and is also mentioned in the Guildhall Letter Books in 1577, 1578, and 1583.

Not far from the *Mitre*, in Wood Street, stood the *Pheasant* tavern (1580, 1583), and in Little Wood Street the *Mermaid* (1578).

There was another and more celebrated *Mermaid* in Bread Street. In 1464, it was a fashionable rendezvous, where Sir John Howard and Sir Nicholas Latimer drank wine; it was still flourishing in 1568,

but its later fame was chiefly due to Sir Walter Raleigh, who established a literary club in this house, probably the first in England; amongst its members were Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Selden, Carew, Martin, Donne, Cotton, etc.

In Friday Street, there was the *White Horse* tavern (1582), and in Lawrence Lane, Cheapside, there was a well-known inn, the sign of which was *St. Laurent*, although it was commonly called *Bosom's Inn* or *Blossoms*, because, says Stow, the figure of St. Laurent had a border of blossoms or flowers; it was, in 1522, a large hostelry with twenty beds and stabling for sixty horses. In Paternoster Row, the *Queen's Head* was a highly respectable inn, in which, before the reign of Elizabeth, lived the canonists and professors of ecclesiastical law.

At Paul's Chain, there were the *King's Head* (1573, 1583) and the *Pole's Head* (1578); at the Old Bailey the *Ship* (1575, 1583), and in Distaff Lane, the *Bull* (1578) and the *Bell* (1583) were noted taverns.

So was the *Windmill*, in Old Jewry, the *Three Tuns* and the *Rose*, at Newgate Market, another *Three Tuns* (1580), and the *Cardinal's Hat* (1517), without Newgate.

In Aldersgate, there was the *Mermaid* (1578); at Smithfield Bars, the *White Hart* (1578, 1582); at East Smithfield, the *Castel* (1580); at Cripplegate, the *Sun* (1568, 1573, 1575, 1578, 1583); and in Holborn, the *Bell* (1579, 1583), the *Greyhound* (1580, 1583), the *Lamb* (1580), and the *King's Head* (1582).

By Fleet Bridge, the *Rose* was a celebrated tavern (1573, 1575, 1578), and in Fleet Street, were the *Horns* (1557, 1578), a noted house in Elizabeth's

reign, the *King's Head* (1578), the *Ram* (1578), and, more famous than any of these, the *Belle Savage*, which belonged to one John French, in 1453, and appears to have become a place of amusement during the sixteenth century, when bear-baiting and performing horses were the means whereby "Mine host of the *Bel Savage*" attracted his "honest guests."

In Chancery Lane, there was the *Star* (1578); at Temple Bars, the *King's Head* (1575), and Without Temple Bars, the *Rose* (1583).

In St. Martin's, the *Queen's Head* (1568) and the *Angel* (1582) were important taverns; in the Strand, were the *Cardinal's Hat* (1580), the *Hart's Horns* (1580), and the *White Hart* (1570). At Charing Cross there was the *Queen's Head*, and in Westminster, the *Castel* (1579), the *Bishop's Head* (1580), the *King's Head* (1583), and the *Bell*, in King Street, one of the oldest *Bell* taverns in London, named in the expenses of Sir John Howard, in 1466, and in Pepys' diary in 1660.

There was another well-known *Bell* inn (1580, 1583) at St. Anthony's; a *Red Cross* tavern (1575) in Red Cross Street; a *White Cross* tavern (1578) in White Cross Street; a *White Swan* (1578) in St. Michael's Lane; a *Horse's Head* (1583) by Durham House; *The Tavern* (1528) at Crossfriars; a *Blue Anchor* at Battle Bridge, etc.

On the Surrey side, the *Blue Anchor* (1581) was a celebrated tavern in Southwark, and the *White Hart*, a large inn, in the High Street, Borough, where Jack Cade had his headquarters, in 1450.*

* All references and particulars regarding the taverns named above | will be found at the end of this volume, Appendix C, pp. 322-326.

In the provinces, there were a great many famous taverns and inns, some of which have come down even to the present day, such as the *Maid's Head*, at Norwich, which shares, with the cathedral, the admiration of the visitors and of all antiquarians; another example being this quaint old hostelry, the *Flying Horse*, at Nottingham, which dates back from the fifteenth century.

At Oxford, the *Crown* was kept by Davenant, Sir William Davenant's father, and there Shakespeare, on his frequent journeys between London and his native place, generally put up.

At Leicester, Richard III. passed his last night, on the eve of the battle of Bosworth, at the *White Boar*, a celebrated inn which became the *Blue Boar* at the accession of Henry VII. and flourished until the early part of the last century.

At Sittingbourne, the *Red Lion* boasted of higher antiquity still, and it was there that, in 1415, Henry V. was entertained by one John Norwood, the whole cost of the feast only reaching 9s. 9d., including wine at a penny per pint.

But it was not only in town hostelries that wine was sold; at most country inns throughout England the traveller could buy wine, and at prices only a little higher than those charged in cities. Much valuable information on the subject can be gathered from the sundry "riding accounts" that have come down to us, the most interesting and complete of

The limits within which this work must remain do not permit of more than a mere enumeration of all these London taverns, but much interesting information on the subject will be found in the Letter

Books of the Guildhall and the following work:—Jacob Larwood and John Camden Hotten, *The History of Signboards from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, London, 1866.

which are those that have been preserved at Belvoir Castle amongst the manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland.

In January, 1532, Lord Rutland left Belvoir Castle with twenty-six horses to ride to Parliament. They stopped at Fotheringay, and at Huntingdon, on a Friday, when the supper of eggs and fish with wine for my Lord, and beer for his men, only cost 11s. 3d.; the next day, at Roston, 23s. was paid for meat fare, wine and beer; the following day, supper cost only 12s. 8d. at Ware, and the day after they reached Holywell, the Earl's residence in London.*

In July, 1539, when the Countess of Rutland rode from Holywell to Belvoir Castle, she also spent the night at the inn at Ware, where a good stock of wines was kept, to judge from some items of her Ladyship's supper account, paid the following morning, viz.: white wine, one pint, 1d.; a potell of claret wine, 4d.; a pint of sack, 2d., besides ale and beer. When Huntingdon was reached, for some unrecorded reason no wine, but only beer, was served.†

In August, 1542, when the Earl of Rutland "rode to the North," wine was bought at Southwell, Nottinghamshire, to fill my Lord's flagons, and, ten days later, the expenditure of his Lordship and suite at Morpeth, in Northumberland, was registered as follows:—"For drencke, 7s. 6d., for wyne, 4s. 2d."‡

In December, 1550, when my Lord of Rutland rode from Eagle, in Lincolnshire, to London, he spent the night at the inn, Stamford, and departed the following morning, after breakfast, when a most outrageous bill was presented by the innkeeper,

* Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 326.

† *Idem*, pp. 290, 291.

‡ *Idem*, pp. 332, 333.

including not only a charge of 3s. 4d. "for fyer in the chamber where the gentylmen sopped," but also "2s. for fyer in the kechen." The wine consumed on that occasion, according to the account, amounted to four pottells and one quarter of "Raynyshe wyne," 4s. 6d.; two pottells and one pint of claret, 1s. 6d. The account was paid, but a marginal note by the Comptroller of the Household reads thus:—"Nota—to kno whether they use in eny inne to aske allowance for fire in the ketchen or no."*

When the Earl visited Leicester, Hull or Newcastle he was the guest of either the Mayor or of some friendly lord having a residence in the neighbourhood, and in such cases there are no entries of the wine or provisions consumed; on one occasion, however, in 1541, when the Earl went to Lincoln, he spent the night at the Dean's House, and he not only paid for a pottell of Malvesey and one of Sack he drank there, but he even sent to the Dean a present of bread, beer and wine afterwards.†

* Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 367.
The only cheap article in that account is: "for aples and orrengees, 6d."

† *Idem*, p. 320.

CHAPTER VII.

LEGISLATIVE and municipal ordinances, duties and customs, sales and purchases, grants and seizures are isolated facts which, with a little patience and research, can be found recorded in a great variety of documents. But when we wish to come to generalities, and ascertain what were the quantity, style, quality and cost of the wines consumed in England, the task becomes far more difficult.

As regards quantity, we may assume that the total imports of wine in England between 1400 and 1422 averaged about 15,000 tuns a year, but did not reach more than about 8,000 tuns a year between 1422 and 1483. A marked increase took place during the reign of Henry VII., and imports probably reached 20,000 or 25,000 a year between 1485 and 1500.

The opening years of the sixteenth century showed a decline in the importation of wine, but the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne was the sign of a great wave of prosperity for the English wine trade. From 1509 to 1518, imports must have reached an average of 50,000 tuns a year. Between 1518 and 1529 there are no documents enabling one to form any estimate, but from 1529 to 1534 imports probably averaged 20,000 tuns a year. Between



THE VINTAGE. RED WINE MAKING.
(Frontispiece of the *Vintner's Mystery Display'd*.)

To face p. 130.

1535 and 1557 they increased to about 30,000 tuns yearly.

There is a letter of Daniel Barbaro, Ambassador of the Republic of Venice in London, in which he writes, under date of May, 1551, that, in England, the duties on wine did not yield quite 100,000 ducats.* Assuming the ducat to have been worth about 5s., and the custom and duties on wine to have amounted to 30s. per tun, the duty received for wine imported had been paid on over 16,000 tuns or thereabouts, but the Venetian could not have had access to the customs books of the outports; the amount of wine imported by the Sovereign and by royal licence free of duty, was also very considerable, and swelled this quantity greatly.

During the greater part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the English wine trade was very flourishing. In 1558-9, there were about 25,000 tuns of wine imported; in 1559-60, very nearly 100,000 tuns; in 1560-61, about 70,000 tuns; in 1561-62, about 60,000 tuns; in 1562-63, only 25,000 or 30,000 tuns, and in 1563-64, nearly 60,000 tuns, and perhaps more, the yearly average of the first six years of this reign being about 58,000 tuns. This amount remained practically unaltered, or only slightly lower until the last years of the century when a sharp decline took place, the average of the imports between 1595 and 1600 being approximately 35,000 or 40,000 tuns per annum.

As regards the quality and the style of the wines consumed in England during the period under review, those which were most appreciated were the "mighty

* *Calend. of State Papers, Venice, Vol. V., p. 356.*

great" wines, so dear to "my Lord of Sussex,"* shipped from Bordeaux, and the sweet and rich Malmsey of Candia, whilst the "small" and "thin" wines of many French provinces, chiefly Poitou, were always sold at a lower price and held in little estimation.

Most wines were still drunk when quite new, usually within one year of the vintage, and the only example on record of a marked predilection for old wine is that of Catherine of Aragon,† by birth a foreigner.

Even the unfermented juice of the grape, sweet and sickly as it is, was liked by some; in 1442, when Beckington was at Bordeaux on a special mission, the member of his suite who kept a faithful diary of everything that happened, noted a present of "some new wine called *Le Must*," sent to a Mr. Guillantime on August 19th, a remarkably early date for any new wine to be drunk.‡ A month later, on September 18th, 1442, the vintage was evidently still in progress, since we read that "after dinner, the secretary and comptroller rode to the place of St. Severin, where they saw the process of making wine; at this place they drank, and then rode to Le Bordeu of St. André, near the Chapel of St. Denis, and there also drank."§

Must, or unfermented wine, was sufficiently

* "My Lord of Sussex did not dispraise the wine, but he loves none but mighty great wines." Letter of John Husee to Lady Lisle, March 15th, 1538. Gairdner, Hen. VIII., Vol. XIII., Part I., No. 511.

† "My Lord of Sussex findeth no fault with the wine you sent him, only that the same is small, for I perceive he loves great and mighty

wines." Letter of Anne Basset to Lady Lisle, March 15th, 1538. Gairdner, Hen. VIII., Vol. XIII., Part I., No. 512.

‡ Calend. of State Papers, Gayangos, Vol. V., Part I., p. 82.

§ Journal by one of the Suite of Thomas Beckington, p. 28.

§ *Idem*, p. 35.

appreciated to be shipped to England, and some means were evidently found to check the fermentation. Thus, in January, 1586, the Earl of Rutland bought "two rondletes of Rennish wine, the one *Must*, containing xi gallons *dimid*', the other *new rucked* (newly racked) Rhenish, containing x gallons, at 2s. 8d. the gallon."*

Bordeaux wines, that is, all the wines shipped from that port, were only seldom designated by the name of the growth they originally came from. They were usually sold in England indifferently as Gascon wines, red, white, or claret. This last denomination was still applied to a style of wine of a lighter colour than the red, whatever its origin, but not necessarily lighter in body, and neither better nor worse than the red or white wines, as is clearly evidenced by the following prices paid by Henry VIII., in 1528, at Bordeaux:†

	Per tun.		
White wine - - - -	-	45 francs	5 sous.
Red wine - - - -	-	42	„ 10 „
„ „ - - - -	-	45	„ 5 „
Claret wine - - - -	-	36	„ 0 „
„ „ - - - -	-	40	„ 0 „
„ „ - - - -	-	42	„ 10 „
„ „ - - - -	-	45	„ 5 „
„ „ - - - -	-	48	„ 0 „
„ „ - - - -	-	50	„ 0 „
„ „ - - - -	-	50	„ 10 „
Wines of Surk (?) - -	-	50	„ 10 „
Wines of Gravys - -	-	50	„ 10 „

This account tends to show, in the first place, that a much greater proportion of claret wine was

* Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 388.

† F. Madden, *Private Expenses of the Princess Mary*, p. 275. The only other mention of wine of Graves I

have found is a purchase of four tuns of *Sweet Graves* by the Earl of Rutland, in 1571. Rutland MSS., Vol. I., p. 94.

bought by the King than of either the red or white sort, and also that there was a very great variety of qualities of this wine, which accounts for such widely different prices.

In 1512, the red, white, and claret wines bought by the Earl of Northumberland are all accounted for at the uniform price of £4 13s. 4d.* and no difference was ever made in the price of these three styles of wine when the assize was fixed from time to time.

In 1504, the price of wine in England, according to the *Chronicon Preciosum*, was £8 per tun of red wine, £7 6s. 8d. for claret, and £6 13s. 4d. for white wine.† On the other hand, in 1516, red, claret, and white wine was sold at the uniform price of £5 6s. 8d. per tun,‡ whilst in 1573, the gallon of claret cost 2s. at Oxford, where white wine only cost 1s. 8d.§

Claret was not an appellation exclusively applied to Bordeaux wines—the Count Palatine even mentioning, in 1539, white and claret wine of Heidelberg||—but it was chiefly used with reference to the vintages of Gascony, and it gradually became usual to use this name to designate them; thus, in his letter to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, referred to elsewhere, Edward Tremaine wrote, in 1565, that more claret was imported during that year than before, using the word in the modern sense of Bordeaux wines.¶

In his treatise on wine and cider, written in the sixteenth century, Paulmier says that, “when the vintage has been very good, most of the wines of France

* Household Accounts of Algon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, London, 1827, p. 6.

† *Chronicon Preciosum*, p. 115.

‡ Brewer, Hen. VIII., Vol. II., Part I., No. 1935.

§ Thorold Rogers, Vol. III., p. 517.

|| Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 611. See also mentions of Beaune claret and Orleans claret, Chapter IX., p. 198.

¶ Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Eliz., Addenda, Vol. XII.

and Germany are at their best after one year, but when the year has been cold and damp, they are so thin and weak that they become sour within twelve months. As a rule," he says, "most of the French wines have reached their perfection within three or four months of the vintage, or, at the latest, when they are a year old, whilst the wines made in more southerly and hotter countries are much stronger and improve during five and six years, or even longer."*

Wine was only indifferently kept and was liable to become foul after a few months, as is clearly evidenced by the results of the annual search made in the London taverns, when much wine was condemned not as fraudulently adulterated, but as "defective" and fit only to make vinegar with.

At Coldharbour, in London, the Earl of Shrewsbury kept a well-stocked cellar of old as well as new wine, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and his steward there reported, on one occasion, that the wine was "suffering from being drunk and not refilled again."†

In November, 1539, John Husee wrote from London to Lord Lisle that no new Sack had yet arrived, and that no old Sack was to be found that was good.‡

A great improvement was, however, beginning to be introduced in the way wine was kept, by the use of flagons and bottles.

In a letter dated from London, August 24th, 1538, to Cromwell, Sir William Penison said that he "had provided for Lady Motrell white and claret wine, during the time of her abiding, at dinners and suppers,

* *Traité du Vin et du Sidre*, par Julien de Paulmier. *De Vino et Pomaceo*, traduit par Jacques de Cahaignes. Caen, 1589.

† Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., No. 1935. May 28th, 1516.
‡ Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 596.

in flagons, as if it were sent in hogsheads it would be unfin'd and unmete to drink so soon.”*

Quality and scarcity, far more than any Act of Parliament, were the real factors which determined the actual cost of wine.

The numerous regulations fixing the price wine was to be sold at in England and the heavy penalties enacted against vintners or taverners selling wine above the assize, neither could nor did prevent the cost of this commodity from fluctuating incessantly. Even the wine which had been bought in the first instance by a taverner at a certain price could not be retailed at a uniform price throughout, since the lack of care or of proper cellarage often caused part of it to become less palatable, so that it could only be disposed of at a lower price. This appears to have been a frequent occurrence, and it was not rare to re-export to Ireland or Scotland wine, the poor quality of which made it impossible to sell it in England.

Thus, in 1400, a licence was granted to Thomas Clerk, master of a crayer called *La Trinite*, of Bristol, to cross to the Castle of Conere and the town of Sligo, in Ireland, with the said crayer and twenty tuns of old wine, which, on account of its age and weakness, could not be sold in England.†

A similar licence was granted to John Banham and John Walter to ship thirty tuns of old and “undrinkable” wine in a ship called *Le Cristofre*, of Bristol, and take the same to Ireland to make their profit therefrom.‡

* Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIII., Part II., No. 177.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. IV., Part VI., m. 5.

‡ *Idem*, 2 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 6. January 12th, 1401. For other in-

stances of such licences, see Calend. Patent Rolls, 2 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 38; 3 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 19; Part II., m. 18; 4 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 40, m. 38, m. 37, m. 36, m. 35; 4 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 22, etc.

Besides the quality, the failure or success of vintages abroad and the scarcity or abundance of wine at home regulated the cost of wine in England during the Middle Ages, even more so than now, on account of the inability of the mediæval wine merchant and consumer to lay by a store of wine in good years.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, wine was scarce and dear in Aquitaine, the wines of Bourg costing 40 francs per cask, compared with 12 francs in 1497, and 20 francs in 1541.* Elsewhere, however, wine—and particularly Burgundy and Anjou wines—were cheap, the average price of wine in Paris, in 1401, being barely 1d. per gallon,† whilst in England, where the high price of Gascon wine was more sensibly felt, the average price was 7d. per gallon.‡

The 1405 vintage was a failure and the cost of red and white wines rose to about 1s. per gallon in England, in 1406, whilst sweet wines, which usually were double the price of the other sorts, only cost 1s. 4d. At Salisbury, red and white wine cost as much as £9 13s. 4d. per tun, and sweet wine only 1s. 4d. per gallon.

Wine was scarcer still in 1407, and dearer, the Duke of Orleans having laid siege to Blaye in January, 1407, at a time when fifty foreign merchant vessels had come to Bordeaux to fetch the wines of the preceding vintage and were made, instead, to join in the defence.§

* Fr. Michel, *Hist. du Com., etc.*, Vol. I., p. 337, Note 1.

† D'Avenel, *Hist. économique*, Vol. IV., p. 192.

‡ Thorold Rogers, Vol. IV., p. 652.

§ Archives du Dép. de la Gironde, Série H., p. 657. Ordre de Malte, terrier, 1206. F. Michel, Vol. II., p. 337.

The following vintage was generally good, and we find the cost of wine reduced by half in Paris and brought down to 6d. per gallon in England, which was and remained the assize price until 1416, when it was raised to 7d. But, in spite of the assize, there are many deals recorded when wine was sold at 8d. per gallon, and, on the other hand, at 5d. or even 4d. per gallon, evidently on its merits; the same happened as regards sweet wines, the price of which had been fixed at 12d. for Malmseys and 10d. for Ossey, the former being sold at 1s. 4d. and the latter at 12d.

From 1417 until the treaty of Arras, in 1435, the French war affected the price of wine to a very great extent, and fluctuations are more numerous than usual during that period. The vintage of 1418 was spoiled by the fear of the enemy, and the prospects of a very fine crop were blighted by the hurry of the growers who gathered the grapes too early, the wine selling for 2 livres 2 sous per tun, at Orleans, being at the rate of about $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per gallon. In England, on the other hand, wine was dear in 1418—9d. per gallon on an average—and probably dearer still in 1419.*

In 1420, when a phase of the hostilities between the Kings of France and England was terminated by the treaty of Troyes and the marriage of Henry V. with Catherine of France, the price of wine fell to $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. per gallon at Oxford, and £3 per tun at Exeter. In Paris, French wine cost only $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per gallon, Burgundy 1d. and the best Beaune or Auxerre wine 2d. per gallon, in 1421.

In 1425, the price of the gallon of wine had

* I have not been able to find any price recorded for that year.

increased to 8d. in London, and Norwich; at Oxford, the gallon of wine cost 10d. in 1427, against 4d. in Paris in the same year.

During the next ten years, wine was proportionally much dearer in France than in England; in 1429, it cost 5½d. per gallon at Orleans, and in 1430, 6d. per gallon at Rouen, whilst it only cost 8d. per gallon at Lancaster, and 7d. per gallon at Oxford, in 1529. In 1431, wine cost 4½d. per gallon at Orleans and 8d. per gallon at Norwich, where the same price was charged in 1433 and 1434, whilst in Paris wine cost 5d. per gallon and, at Orleans, nearly 4d. per gallon, in 1434.

The price of wine in England remained fairly steady and somewhat below 8d. per gallon between 1435 and 1550, when Bordeaux was lost to the English Crown.

In 1437, it cost 8d. at Bicester, 6d. at Otterton, 7d. at Oxford, and 10d. at Rippyngton, per gallon; the price was about 4d. in Paris.

In 1438, the gallon of red wine cost as much as 1s. at Cambridge, and the same high price was asked in London, in 1440. In 1441, a marked decrease took place, wine costing only 6d. per gallon at Oxford, 8d. at Pershore and St. Ives, whilst the wine of Nantes cost 5d. per gallon, at Rouen.

In 1442, red wine cost 8d. per gallon at Norwich, and white wine 4d. per gallon at Soissons.

In 1443, although red wine cost 1s. per gallon at Norwich, it was sold, at Oxford, at 6½d. and 7d. per gallon, the price being also lower in Paris, where some wine cost only 2½d. per gallon, and the best 4¾d.

In 1444, the price of wine was lower still in France, the gallon being sold at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. at Orleans; it remained, however, fairly high in England, the gallon costing 8d. at Exeter, in 1444, and also at Cambridge, Norwich, Pershore, etc., in 1445, and until 1450.

During the second half of the fifteenth century, the price of wine increased without any violent fluctuations, but gradually and steadily, in England, whilst it decreased almost in the same proportion, in France, during the same period.

In 1450, wine cost 10d. per gallon at Cambridge, and a little less than 9d. on an average at Oxford, the price at Nantes being then over 6d. per gallon.

In 1455-56, it cost over 9d. at Oxford, and 11d. per gallon at Cambridge, and under 4d. in Paris.

In 1460-62, it still cost about 9d. per gallon at Oxford, but 1s. at Cambridge, and less than 2d. in Normandy.

In 1465, there was a momentary sharp decline in the price of wine in England, the gallon costing only 8d. at Cambridge, and less than 7d. at Oxford. In 1466, however, it rose again to 10d. per gallon at Cambridge, and 8d. at Oxford, and the average price, throughout England, remained at about 9d. per gallon, or slightly under, until 1482, when the cost rose to 1s. at Cambridge, and 10d. at Oxford, the average price, however, being only slightly over 9d. per gallon for the closing years of the century.

During the first decade of the sixteenth century, the price of wine was lower, on the whole, than during the preceding fifty years. The gallon cost only 8d.

at Cambridge, as well as at Oxford, in 1500, and a few good vintages helped to maintain prices at the lower level. Both 1501 and 1503 were very plentiful years, wine being sold at 2d. per gallon at Orleans, in 1501, and Pommard costing only 5 francs 9 gros per poinçon in Burgundy, in 1504, being equivalent to 1d. per gallon. In 1505, wine cost only 1d. per gallon in Paris, and about 1½d. at Orleans. In England, 8d. per gallon was practically the maximum price given for red wine sold by retail, and £5 per tun when sold wholesale, until 1521.

In 1522, the price rose sharply, owing to the general failure of the preceding vintage and the great scarcity of wine in England.*

The tun of Gascon wine, the price of which had been well under £5, on an average, for the last twenty years, cost, in 1522, £5, £5 6s. 8d., and £5 13s. 4d.; it then rose to £6 in 1527, and the King paid as much as £5 15s. 5d. in 1528, and £6 1s. in 1529; in 1530, claret was sold, at Durham, £6, £6 13s. 4d., and £7 per tun; and in 1531, also at Durham, red and claret wine cost £7 2s., £7 13s. 4d., and £8 per tun. The same rise in the price of wine was also taking place in France, where the gallon cost 1d. in 1520 and 5d. in 1530.

During the ten following years, 1531-1541, the price of wine remained practically stationary, and probably even a little lower.

The assize was once more fixed, in 1531, and again in 1532, at 8d. per gallon for all French and Gascon wines sold in England, but there are very few records of purchases of wine at that price, wine being

* Brown, *Calend. of State Papers, Venice*. Vol. III., No. 396.

sold at 1s. a gallon in London and at Oxford, in 1531.

In 1541, wine was cheaper in England, Gascony wine being bought for the King at £4 8s. 8d. per tun and at £3 15s. 5d., in 1542. During both these years the assize price for the best French and Gascon wine was £5 per tun, but it was raised to £8 for the best Gascon wine, and to £6 for the lighter French wines in 1544, a remarkably violent fluctuation, partly due to the renewal of hostilities with France and partly to the scarcity of wine on the Continent, where a similar rise in the price took place at the same time. In Paris, wine was sold at 7d. per gallon in 1544, and 6d. in 1545; at Soissons it cost 5d., and at Nantes 6d., in 1544; in Flanders the piece of Burgundy cost as much as 240 florins, whilst Rhenish wine cost 1s. 6d. per gallon, and Spanish wine 10d. and 1s. 5d. per gallon, in 1545.

After the peace of 1546, the price of wine was, and remained, slightly lower until 1550, when another very sharp advance took place. Gascon wine, which cost £6 1s. 10d. per tun in 1546, £4 9s. 6d. in 1547, £4 7s. 10d. in 1548, cost £6 14s. per tun in 1550, £8 per tun in 1551, and the King paid as much as £8 16s. 8d. per tun in 1552.

In 1553, although the assize had fixed the price of French and Gascony wine at £5 per tun and 8d. per gallon, £5 18s. 4d. per tun was paid for the Gascon wine bought for the royal household. In 1554, the assize price of Gascon wine was raised to £6 6s. 8d. per tun, the Queen, however, having to pay £6 18s. per tun for this wine in 1554, and again in 1555.

This rapid advance in the price of wine in England

cannot be attributed to defective vintages abroad, since the cost of the gallon of wine, in Paris, remained stationary at 4½d., from 1551 to 1555. In Brussels, however, Rhenish cost as much as 1s. 4d., and at Valenciennes 2s. per gallon, in 1554.

During the reign of Elizabeth, and particularly at the close of her reign, the price of wine in England increased rapidly, the sweet kinds in a less degree than the other sorts.

In 1558, Gascon wine cost 1s. 3½d., and Rhenish 1s. 8d. per gallon in London, whilst wine cost 1s. 4d. and 2s. per gallon at Oxford, and 7d. per gallon in Paris.

In 1559, wine cost 1s. 4d., and Malmsey 2s., both at Chester and Oxford; in 1560 wine cost 1s. 6d. per gallon at Oxford; in 1561 and 1562, 1s. 4d., and in 1564, 1s. 5d. per gallon, still at Oxford.

In 1565, the assize price was fixed at £7 6s. 8d. per tun, and 1s. per gallon for French and Gascon wine, but the Queen paid £7 10s. 6d. for her provision, and at Oxford the gallon of claret still cost 1s. 4d., whilst Sack was sold for 2s. and Muscadine 2s. 8d. per gallon, the same prices ruling in 1568 and 1569.

In 1571, the assize price was raised to £8 6s. 8d. per tun, and 13d. per gallon, for French and Gascon wines, whilst that of Muscadel was fixed at 1s. 4d., that of Malmsey at 1s. 2d., and that of Sack at 1s. 1d. per gallon. In that same year, however, we find Sack sold at 2s. per gallon at Kingston-on-Thames, and, in 1573, white wine cost 1s. 8d., claret 2s., Sack 2s. 8d., and Muscadel 3s. 4d. per gallon at Oxford, wine costing as much as 1s. 2d. the gallon in Paris.

In 1574, the vintage was a complete failure in France,* and the price of wine rose very rapidly in England, the Queen paying £13 11s. 9d. per tun of Gascon wine, and only £6 10s. per butt of sweet wine.

In 1575, the assize was fixed at the highest price yet officially recognised, viz., £10 per tun for Gascon wine, and this rate was evidently below what wine could actually be purchased for, since the Queen, in spite of her many privileges, had still to pay £12 10s. per tun for Gascon wine that year, and only £7 14s. 6d. in 1576, when the assize was still being maintained at £10 per tun.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, wine had become much more expensive in England than it had ever been before. The assize price was raised to £12 for Gascon and £10 for Rochelle wines in 1578, and to £13 and £11 per tun, respectively, in 1581, but the actual sales and purchases, records of which have reached us, were transacted at much higher figures, the tun of wine costing £14 at Ipswich, and £17 at Kirling, in 1579, whilst the butt of Sack was, in proportion, very much cheaper at £10, also at Kirling, and during that same year; at Oxford, wine cost 2s. per gallon, and Sack 2s. 8d. in 1580, 1581, and 1582.

These prices, high as they then appeared, were soon to rise again and become almost prohibitive. In February, 1586, G. Fitzwilliam, writing from Boston to the Earl of Rutland, then at Newark, said: "I have been commanded by you, through Mr. Watson, to provide you with a tun of Gascony wine

* May 17th, 1575. Licence sought to export 200 tuns of beer to Guernsey, wines and cider having failed in France the previous year.

Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Eliz., Addenda, Vol. XXIV., No. 22.

at Lynn. I have not done so yet, as I hear that the wine is of poor quality and the price has risen to £25 per tun.”* In that same year, Rhenish wine cost as much as 2s. 8d. per gallon in London.

Claret, which cost £11 per tun, in 1583, at Kirtling, cost £24 per tun, in 1586, also at Kirtling, and £21 15s., in 1587, at Gawthorp. The price of Sack also increased from 2s. and 2s. 6d. per gallon, in 1583, to 3s. in 1585, at Worksop; to 3s. 4d., in 1586, at Canterbury, and, in 1587, at Norwich; and to 4s. per gallon, at Eton, in 1597.

In November, 1595, John Gylles, writing from Flanders to Thomas Mydleton, merchant, in London, said: “Here comes daily store of French wines, the best burdens at £25 and £26, and some at £20 and £22 the tun; the Rhenish wines fall very bad this year, which must be mended by French wines, for great quantities are sent to Dort, of the white wines and of the sweetest to be brewed.”†

Two years later, in December, 1597, Sir Robert Crosse, writing to Sir Robert Cecil, said: “This day some of Her Majesty’s ships, which were with my Lord of Essex, came into Margate Road, and with them most of the Bordeaux fleet, who, notwithstanding their wines are ill, do, as I hear, rate them at a very great price.”‡

In 1598, Gascon wine cost as much as 2s. 8d. per gallon, in London, and sweet wines were sold at 4s. the gallon.§

* Rutland MSS., Vol. I., p. 211.

† Salisbury MSS. at Hatfield, Part V., p. 479.

‡ *Idem*, Part VII., p. 518.

§ These and other prices, together with the authorities for same, will be found in the Appendix A

CHAPTER VIII.

THE deposition of Richard II., and the necessity for Henry IV. to employ all his resources and energies at home, seemed to leave Guienne at the mercy of the King of France.

In 1399, the Duc de Bourbon was sent to the south at the head of a large army and reached Agen without having met any serious resistance. The small English garrisons which were left in the towns of the interior were totally helpless to oppose the progress of the French army, the more so that the population received their compatriots with unfeigned joy and gladly returned to the allegiance of their natural Lord, the King of France.

The Duc de Bourbon, already congratulating himself on the rapid success of his expedition, quartered his troops at Agen, and sent to Bordeaux, Bayonne and Dax, asking the inhabitants of these, the last important towns where the English still held out, to acknowledge Charles as their Sovereign. His confidence in the success of this mission was all the greater that the Bordelais, affectionate to the memory of Richard II., who had been born amongst them, had refused to swear allegiance to his murderer.

But, to his great surprise and annoyance, the men of Bordeaux not only refused to accept his offers, but they even sent envoys to Bayonne and other places, urging their compatriots to remain faithful to the English Crown.

Their message was very plain and outspoken. "If the Londoners," they said, "have deposed King Richard and crowned King Henry, what has it to do with us? We still have a King. It is said that the Bishop of London and Sir Thomas Percy will soon be here, who will tell us the truth. We have a far greater commerce in wines, wool and cloth with the English than with the French, and if we are naturally more inclined towards the English, let us take great care not to enter into any treaty which we might have cause to regret."*

The Earl of Worcester, who arrived soon afterwards with some troops in Guienne, was able, thanks chiefly to the dissensions among the French princes, to keep the whole of this province under the English rule.

In 1400, as a reward for their loyalty, Henry IV. renewed the charters which had been granted to the merchants of Bordeaux by his predecessors; he even granted them an important monopoly, prohibiting the sale of wine by retail and in taverns, at Bordeaux,

* "Se les Londriens ont depose le roy Richard et couronne le roy Henry, que nous en touche? Tous jours avons nous roy. Et nouvelles sespardent que levesque de Londres et messire Thomas de Persy seront temprement ycy, qui nous informeront de verite. Nous avons plus de marchandises, de vins, de laines et draps aux Anglois que

nous navons aus François, et si nous inclinons mieulz par nature aux Anglois gardons bien que nous ne faisons traitie nul dont repentir nous puissions. — "Jehan de Waurin, Recueil des Chrcniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne, a present Nomme Engleerre. Edited by W. Hardy, Vol. II., p. 1414.

by any other than burgesses of Bordeaux, between Whitsunday and Michaelmas.*

Bordeaux remained faithful to the English Crown to the last, conscious of the blow that would be dealt to her commerce and her prestige the day when she would lose her rank as the metropolis of England's hereditary possessions in France.

The inhabitants of the interior had, however, no such reasons to remain loyal to a foreign prince, and the need for a far greater number of troops than those available was very urgent.

The letters of the Archbishop of Bordeaux to Henry IV. and of John Morhay to the Bishop of Bath, in 1402, depict in very black colours the state of Guienne at that time, and both ask for immediate help.†

In spite of the unsettled state of the Province and of the imminent danger of a French invasion, the Bordeaux wine trade remained, at first, very active, the shipments of the 1403 vintage, in the autumn of that year and in the following spring, being on a very large scale.‡

The price of wine rose rapidly in 1405, on account of the severe spring frosts which blighted a great proportion of the vineyards, rendering the

* Rot. Vasc., 2 Hen. IV., m. 20. Delurbe, Chron. Bordeloise, fo. 237.

† These letters are of the greatest interest, but too long to be given here: they have been edited by the Rev. F. C. Hingston in *Royal and Historical Letters during the*

Reign of Henry IV., Appendix IV., pp. 437-444.

‡ *Chronique de St. Denys*, Vol. III., pp. 112, 113. Des Ursins, p. 157. *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, Vol. II., p. 81.

vintage very small and the wine scarce; to make matters worse, the Duke of Orleans laid siege to Blaye in January, 1407, at a time when fifty foreign vessels were at Bordeaux ready to sail home with the dearly-bought wines of the preceding vintage. Nothing daunted, they armed themselves, formed in good order and sailed boldly down the Gironde. At St. Julien, in the Medoc, the Duke of Orleans tried to stop them, but they fought desperately and managed to make good their escape.*

Another fleet went to Bordeaux in 1413,† to fetch wines for the young King who had just ascended the throne.

The exploits of Henry V. in Normandy relieved Guienne of all the French soldiery, rapidly called together to resist the invader. In September, 1415, Henry, being in France, applied to Bordeaux for subsidies, asking his Seneschal in Guienne to procure no less than 700 casks of wine for the needs of his army. The citizens of Bordeaux seized this opportunity of obtaining the renewal of their ancient charters and privileges; their Mayor and the Town Clerk journeyed to Normandy to the King, to whom they brought a present of 200 casks of wine; when they reached their destination they wrote to the jurats of Bordeaux to send them forty casks more of wine to propitiate the Earl of Dorset.‡

In 1442, the mission sent to Bordeaux, headed by Thomas Beckington, wrote to the King's Council informing them of the rapid progress made by the

* Arch. du dép. de la Gironde, Série H, p. 657. F. Michel, Vol. I., p. 237.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. IX., p. 47.

‡ Darnal, *Supplément des Chroniques de Bordeaux*, p. 42.

French troops in Guienne, saying that no resistance was offered them on account of the lack of men and treasure; they added that if a small force could be sent over it would easily check their advance and that even if the fleet which was wont to come to Bordeaux at the vintage time was allowed to proceed thither, their crews alone could prevent much of the mischief committed by the enemy.* This prohibition for the English merchants to go to Bordeaux to fetch wine was quite as unpopular in London as in Gascony, and caused a great shortage of wine in England. In 1444, the Commons petitioned the King, asking for its removal,† and they obtained the enactment of the following Statute:—

“The King, considering how divers complaints have been made before this time by divers of his lieges merchants, repairing to the parts of Gascony and Guienne, how that now of late they have been suffered to buy wines of the growing of the high country, in such time as they [were wont to be made]; and also now there be divers new impositions demanded and levied of his said lieges merchants repairing to the said parts, otherwise than hath been used of old time demanded and levied, to the great damage of the said merchants, and great loss and hindrance of all his faithful liege people, hath ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all his said merchants repairing to the said parts of Guyenne and Gascony, may freely hereafter buy the wine there of the high country, in all such times, and in

* A Journal by one of the Suite of Thomas Beckington, during an Embassy to negotiate a Marriage between Henry VI. and a Daughter of the Count of Armagnac, A.D.,

1442. With notes and illustrations by N. H. Nicolas, London, 1828, p. 51.

† Rot. Parl., A.D. 1444, 23 Hen. VI., Vol. V., p. 113, col. 2.

all such [liberties] as they have used to buy them twenty or thirty years past, without any other new imposition or charge to be put upon them ; and that if any of the King's officers in the said parts, or any other persons, disturb, vex or grieve, or do to be disturbed, vexed or grieved, any of the said merchants or liege people of the King, or do to be levied of any of them any new imposition, contrary to this ordinance, to be forfeit as oftentimes as he offendeth, to the party grieved £20 over his treble damage to be paid to him."*

Henry VI. was unable to defend his title of King of France and the vast possessions he had inherited from his valiant father in that country. Every province, town after town—all, save Calais—was gradually lost.

Bordeaux, after all surrounding places had been captured, agreed at last to submit to the King of France, if not relieved by a certain time ; and as no one in England had either the will or the means to succour the distant city, no relief appeared on the appointed day, and Bordeaux surrendered. Its gallant defence was not altogether fruitless, since it enabled the citizens to obtain terms which were considered as very advantageous. It was formally agreed that all who refused to swear allegiance to the King of France were free to leave the city at their own time and go wherever they pleased, taking with them all their goods, moneys, furniture, ships, vessels and whatever belonged to them, a delay of six months being granted to them within which time they were to leave.†

* Statutes of the Realm, 23 Hen. VI., cap. 17, 1444.

† " Et s'il y en a aucuns qui ne veuillent demeurer, ne faire le

Many of the wealthy inhabitants of Bordeaux availed themselves of this option right and emigrated to England. Some, in fact, had already left Gascony during the wars which desolated this province previous to its conquest. One of these, Peter Salamon, obtained, as far back as 1405, royal notification that he was a native of Bordeaux and the King's liege, so that he might exercise his mistery within the town of Norwich or elsewhere within the realm, as the officers of that town had imposed on him and would not permit him to exercise his mistery, saying that he was not the King's liege, but of some other nation.*

But, after the final loss of Guyenne, the Gascons who elected to come and settle in England resented keenly to be called aliens and treated as foreigners by the natives, after all they had suffered and lost on account of their loyalty to their English Sovereign. They applied to the King in Parliament, asking to be legally and officially recognised as English subjects, with the right to enjoy the same privileges as native-born Englishmen. This just demand was readily granted by Henry, who also gave them all the safe conducts and licences they might require to go back to Bordeaux either to settle their affairs or to fetch wines. Many of the Gascon knights and noblemen whose attachment to England had proved their utter

serment au roy de France, aller s'en pourront quand bon leur semblera et ou il leur plaira, et pourront emporter toutes leurs marchandises, or, argent et biens meubles, nef, vaisseaux et autres choses quelconques, et auront pour ce faire bon sauf-conduit et terme de vuidange jusques à demy-an."—*Privilèges des Bourgeois de la Ville*

et Cité de Bordeaux. A Bordeaux, MDCLXVII., p. 60. D. Devienne, *Histoire de Bordeaux*, Note viii., p. 515. *Ordonnances des Rois de France*, etc., t. XIV., p. 142. Fr. Michel, *Hist. du Com. et de la Nav. à Bordeaux*. Vol. I., p. 360.

* *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 5 Hen. IV., p. II., m. 12.

ruin, turned their attention to commerce, and most of these engaged in the wine trade, their task being facilitated by the knowledge of the country where they went to fetch their wines, and the kindly disposition of the royal officers in England, where they disposed of them. Thus it was that, in 1457, a safe conduct was granted to Jean de Lalande, a Gascon emigré going back in his own ship to Gascony, whose name is still honourably known in the Bordeaux wine trade.*

Louis XI. tried to entice back some of his Gascon subjects who had emigrated to England. In 1475, when Edward IV. met Louis in France, many of these merchants had followed him and received offers to settle in Gascony. On one occasion, the King asked one of them to dinner and made him the most alluring offers to come and settle again in his dominions. It was, however, all of no avail. When the King saw that his promises failed to decide the merchant to stay in France, he sent him away with a present of a thousand écus in hard cash and assured him that those of his brothers who were still in Gascony would be under his royal protection.† The next day the monarch was more successful and prevailed on another Gascon merchant who had come to ask for a remittance of the royal dues on some wine he wished to export from Bordeaux, to go back and live in Bordeaux, his native town, granting him some profitable offices and giving him a thousand francs for the expenses of

* Rot. Franc., 35 Hen. VI., m. 15. See also Rot. Vass., 2 and 3 Hen. VI., m. 12; 21 and 22 Hen. VI., m. 8.

† Mémoires de Comines, t. IV., ch. x. Vol. I., p. 302.

taking back his wife and family from England to Bordeaux.*

Although the annexation of Gascony caused a very great prejudice to the hitherto paramount Bordeaux wine trade in England, this trade was nevertheless kept up with varying fortunes, and on a somewhat diminished scale, during the latter part of the fifteenth and the whole of the sixteenth century.

In 1453, all English ships were allowed by the French authorities to come to Bordeaux to fetch wines, but, as a measure of precaution, they were made to stop at Blaye, on arrival, and their guns had to be landed and left there before they were allowed to proceed up the Gironde.†

In 1459, however, a large merchantman, called the *Christopher*, of Hull, was seized before reaching Blaye and not allowed to proceed to Bordeaux, its destination; in spite of a safe conduct granted by the Admiral of France, the merchants and mariners

* "Il n'estoit rien au monde dont le Roy eust plus grande peur, que de ce qu'il lui eschapast quelque mot, parquoy les Anglois pensassent qu'il se moequast d'eux; et d'adventure, le lendemain après cettz veuë, comme il estoit en son retrait, que nous n'estions que trois ou quatre, il lui eschapa quelque mot de risée, touchant les vins et les présens qu'il avoit envoyez a l'ost des Anglois; et en se tournant, il apperceut un marchand Gascon, qui demouroit en Angleterre, lequel lui estoit venu demander un congé, pour tirer une certaine quantité de vin de Gascongne sans rien payer du droit du Roy, et estoit chose qui pouvoit fort profiter audit marchand, s'il lui estoit accordé. Le dit Seigneur fut tres esbahi, quand il le vit, et comment il pouvait estre entré ;

il lui demanda de quelle ville il estoit en Guienne; et s'il estoit marchand et marié en Angleterre; le marchand lui respondit que ouï, mais qu'il n'y avoit gueres vaillant; Incontinent le Roy lui bailla un homme, avant que partir de là, qui le conduisit à Bordeaux, et parlay à luy par le commandement du Roy, et eut un tres bon office en la ville; dont il estoit nay, et la traite des vins qu'il demandait, et mille francs comptans pour faire venir sa femme; et envoya un sien frère en Angleterre sans ce qu'il y allast; et ains, se condamna le Roy en cette amende, connoissant qu'il avoit trop parlé."—*Mémoires de Messire Philippe de Comines*. E.L. Brussels, 1706, Vol. I., p. 303. Livre IV., ch. x.

† *Chronique Bordeloise*, Anno 1453, fo. 35v.

who were on board were thrown into prison.* A similar fate befell another English merchantman called the *Margaret*, of Orwell, which was taken in the port of Bordeaux itself, where it had come on the faith of a safe conduct.†

Such unfair as well as impolitic proceedings led naturally to retaliation; in 1462, Edward IV. forbade his subjects to import any wines of the growths of Aquitaine,‡ and, in 1463, Louis XI. enacted very heavy penalties for such of his subjects as dared go to England with their wines without a special licence of the King.§ Later, in 1475, Louis aggravated still further the situation by the imposition of a vexatious supplementary tax of one écu on all English ships coming to Bordeaux to trade.

One of the immediate effects of this spiteful policy was to force the greater part of the carrying trade between Bordeaux and England into the hands of the Bretons, Flemings, Spaniards and Italians. The first-named had by far the larger share of this trade, if one may judge by the great number of complaints preferred by subjects of the Duke of Brittany of the capture, by English pirates, of the Bordeaux wines they were bringing to England. In 1475, Edward IV. granted a remission of half the custom and subsidy, up to a certain amount, on Gascon wine brought to England by Bretons in consideration of the losses sustained by them at sea.||

This state of affairs was very unsatisfactory, for, although the truce between France and England

* Archives Nationales, X., 10117, fo. 42v, 59v, 66r.

† Idem, fo. 73r.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 2 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 5d.

§ Registres du Port de Bordeaux. B. I., August 30th, 1463.

|| Calend. Patent Rolls, 15 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 4.

had been renewed from time to time, and English merchants still went to Bordeaux for their wines,* the two countries seemed to seek, by all the means in their power, to cause each other the greatest possible prejudice.

In 1483, Richard III. having received a friendly letter from Louis XI., on his accession to the throne, seized this occasion to remonstrate with the French King on the subject. "In spite of the truce," wrote Richard, "English merchants, seeing the great risk they run at the hands of your subjects who seize their ships and their goods, they dare not venture to Bordeaux nor elsewhere within your realm until they receive your royal assurance that they may in all security go and trade in all places within your power, according to the truce."†

One of the very first acts of Henry VII.'s reign was to prohibit the importation of Gascon wine in any but English ships,‡ a measure which never was, nor could be, strictly enforced on account of the limited proportions of the English mercantile marine.

Many licences had to be granted by the King, in direct opposition to his ordinance, allowing foreigners to bring wine to England in their own ships. Such a licence was even granted, soon after the enactment of this prohibition, to a Frenchman,

* In February, 1482, Richard Challerton, of London, bought wine in Bordeaux to the value of £100. *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 2 Ric. III., Part II., m. 22d.

† Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*

illustrating the Reigns of Ric. III. and Hen. VII., Vol. I., p. 34, No. X. August 18th, 1483.

‡ *Statutes of the Realm*, 1 Hen. VII., cap. 8. *Rot. Parl.*, Vol. VI., p. 335. col. 2.

François Dupon, to import 100 tuns of Gascony wine into England.*

But most of these licences were granted to Spanish merchants, the relations between England and Spain being at the time very friendly.

In 1485, Diego de Castro and others, merchants of Spain, were granted licences to freight the following ships from Bordeaux to London :—*Sta. Maria*, of Bilbao, 80 tuns ; *Stus Jacobus*, of Bilbao, 140 tuns ; *Sta. Maria*, of Summayo, 150 tuns ; *Sta. Maria*, of San Sebastian, 80 tuns ; and the *Sta. Maria*, of Fuentarabia, 200 tuns.

In the same year, Diego de Cadagna, merchant of Spain, was granted a licence to load his ship with wine at Bordeaux and to bring the same to England.†

In 1486, Antonio Dolaiciola was granted a similar licence, and in 1488, John de Scova, merchant of Spain, was given a licence to export from Bordeaux 200 tuns of Gascon wine to England.‡ During that same year, a safe conduct for the import of 250 tuns of wine from Bordeaux was granted to Peter de Indainta.§

In 1489, a similar licence was granted to Anthony de Rowne, subject of the King of Spain, also for 250 tuns,|| and to Domynyk del Mesqueta, for 300 tuns of Guienne wine,¶ etc.

* Champollion-Figéac, *Lettres des Rois, Reines, etc.*, Vol. II., p. 501.

† See these and similar licences in the Rot. Franc., 1 Hen. VII., m. 13, 14 ; 3 Hen. VII., m. 4 ; 1 Hen. VIII., m. 4, 6 ; 2 Hen. VIII., m. 12 ; 3 Hen. VIII., Part I., m. 18 ; Part II., m. 23 ; 4 Hen. VIII., m. 1 ; 5 Hen. VIII., m. 7, 8, 12, 16, 17 ; 6 Hen. VIII., Part II., m. 14, etc.

‡ Calend. of Letters, etc., relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain. Edited by G. A. Bergenroth, Vol. I., pp. 1, 15.

§ Campbell, Henry VII., Vol. II., p. 345. August 14th, 1488.

|| *Idem*, p. 455. June 30th, 1489.

¶ *Idem*, p. 463. July 19th, 1489.

On November 16th, 1495, Charles VIII., King of France, wrote to the custom officials at Bordeaux, that his "tres cher et tres amé frère et cousin Henry," King of England, had complained that his subjects who went to Bordeaux for purposes of trade did not enjoy the privileges, exemptions and liberties which had been promised to them by letters patent of April 11th, 1495. The King of France expressly and emphatically ordered that English merchants be treated in all fairness, and enjoy all the liberties and privileges they had previously; and, moreover, that all extra taxes or duties which might have been exacted from them during the previous six months be refunded to them.*

During the reign of Henry VIII., the Bordeaux trade regained some of its former importance, and a great many Englishmen went every year to Gascony to fetch wine, as in the past.

Their number was even so great as to cause alarm to the French authorities, who complained, in 1517, that English merchants and sailors, who were previously bound to wear a red cross whilst in Bordeaux, and were never permitted to go up country alone, were now allowed to come without any restriction whatever, there being sometimes as many as 7,000 or 8,000 in the town; they also added that the English merchants were on such good terms with the people of all the country round Bordeaux, in the Médoc, that should war break out between the French and the English, the latter would find no difficulty in landing troops there.†

* See the whole copy of the original letters in F. Michel, *Hist. du Com. et de la Nav. à Bordeaux*, Vol. I., p. 376.

† Gairdner, *Henry VIII.*, Vol. II., Part II., No. 3521. July, 1517.

As it happened, war was soon afterwards declared between the two countries, but the fears of the French authorities were found so unjustified, that, in 1521, Francis I. assured Wolsey that all English merchants could come in all safety to Bordeaux, and fetch wine, a promise which was little kept, as most of the English ships which went thither that year were seized.*

In 1531–32, and again in 1533, all persons were forbidden “to bring and discharge any manner of wine of Gascony, or Guyenne, or French wines, at any haven, port, creek, or other place within the realm, between the Feast of St. Michael, and that of the Purification of Our Lady, upon forfeitures of the said wines.”† This ordinance was very detrimental to the French wine trade in general, since it gave an enormous advantage to all other wines, especially the Sacks from Spain, which practically monopolised the market between September 29th and February 2nd. It was particularly directed against the town and burgesses of Bordeaux, whose exactions and bad treatment of English merchants was greatly resented in London, and who thus lost the privilege of selling their own wines in November, before those of the interior had been brought to their market in December and January, according to their self-made regulations.

They succeeded in obtaining the repeal of this measure in 1534, when, on representation from the King of France, Henry VIII. revoked the newly enacted prohibition to import French wines between September and February, as contrary to

* Fr. Michel, *Hist. du Com. et de la Nav. à Bordeaux*, Vol. I., p. 405–7.

† Statutes of the Realm, 23 Hen. VIII., cap. 7.

the treaty and commercial convention lately agreed to between himself and Francis I.; he also removed the prohibition imposed previously, against importing Gascon wine in any but English bottoms.*

In 1535, some English ships being detained at Bordeaux and representations made to the King of France having been unsuccessful to bring about their release, Henry VIII. sent for the Privy Councillors and summoned to his presence the French Ambassador. He complained to him of the detention of his ships, accusing him of being partly the cause of it, for having written home that French merchants in this country were badly treated, and that every day new taxes were imposed upon them, against the letter of the treaties agreed upon by the two Kings, which charge the Privy Councillors flatly denied; whereupon the French Ambassador, in order to justify his assertion, summoned on his return from Court the French merchants of the City and asked them to put down in writing the grievances they complained of.†

The Frenchmen complained that a great many difficulties were placed in their way when they attempted to sell their wines in England. They said that if they imported wine in their own ships, and without a special licence of the King of England, they ran the risk of having their wine confiscated; they had to fear the same fate if, on arrival in England, they happened to make the slightest mistake in their declaration of their cargo; forfeiture was, again, the

* Statutes of the Realm, 26 Hen. VIII., cap. 10. Calend. of State Papers, Gayangos, Vol. V., Part I., p. 347. December 19th, 1534.

† Calend. of State Papers, England and Spain, Vol. V., Part II., p. 29. January 29th, 1536.

penalty they were liable to should they happen to sell their wine in London or Bristol to an Englishman who was not free of the city. They also complained that they were made to buy English goods with the money they had received for their wine; that they were searched “jusqu’ à leur chemise” before they left England; that any Frenchman seen in the street after dusk without a light (*sans chandelle*) was thrown into prison, etc. These, and other more or less well-founded complaints, led to similar vexatious measures at Bordeaux, where the English merchants said they were badly treated, and made to pay ever-increasing taxes. Englishmen were not left free to buy wine where and how they chose; they were to be accompanied by a native broker during their stay, and to buy through his ministry, and to buy none but the wines of Bordeaux burgesses.*

In spite of these vexations, the commercial relations between Bordeaux and England never ceased, and there are many records of transactions between Gascon and English merchants.

In 1550, Christopher Godwin, merchant of Ipswich, bought 500 tuns of wine of three Bordeaux merchants, at a cost of 550 “écus d’or”; the wine was to be chosen and tasted by George Jobson and William Espople, of Hull.†

In 1557, Sir William Pickering, who was then in Paris, succeeded in obtaining the repeal of some of the taxes and prohibitive ordinances which were complained of by English merchants going to Gascony, and the Constable of Bordeaux wrote to him

* Fr. Michel, *Hist. du Com. et de la Nav. à Bordeaux*, Vol. I., p. 377, *et passim*.

† *Idem*, Vol. II., p. 456.

(September 29th, 1557), assuring him that all objectionable regulations concerning the wine trade at Bordeaux should instantly be cancelled.*

On January 6th, 1569, La Mothe Fénelon, the French Ambassador in London, wrote that fourteen ships only had returned from Bordeaux, where a fleet of English merchantmen had gone to fetch the wines of the last vintage, and that they said that they had been very well treated out there, although they had been made to pay double custom, one at Bordeaux for the King of France, and one at Blaye for the Prince de Condé.†

During the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Bordeaux trade with England, in spite of heavy export duties imposed on wine in France, was still active, the exports to London averaging about 5,400 tuns a year.

In 1590, the export duty levied at Bordeaux was 19s. per tun; in 1591, it was raised to 22s.; and in 1592, to 31s., the exports reaching 7,000 tuns during each of these three years. In 1593, the duty was again raised to 35s. per tun, 4,000 tuns only being exported during that year; in 1594 and 1595, the duty was brought down to 27s., only to be raised to 40s. in 1596, when 7,000 tuns were shipped, and in 1597, when 4,000 tuns only were exported to London. During the next few years, the duty was gradually lowered, in 1598, to 28s.; in 1599, to 17s.; in 1600, to 12s.; and in 1601, to 8s. per tun.‡ The losses

* Calend. of State Papers, Foreign Series, Ed. VI., No. 468.

† *Dépêches, etc., des Ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre*, Vol. I., p. 93. The Ambassador said that he had reason to believe that the Queen of England was awaiting the return of the fleet which had gone

to load wine in Gascony, and that then she would immediately declare war against France. Calend. of State Papers, Venice, Vol. VII., No. 448.

‡ Fr. Michel, *Hist. du Com. et de la Nav. à Bordeaux*, Vol. II., p. 49, *et passim*.

which the London merchants claimed to have sustained through taxation, seizures and other arbitrary proceedings, amounted to no less than £78,100 on wines shipped from Bordeaux to London between the years 1590 and 1601 ; their losses on wines shipped during the same period from Charente to London amounted to £18,700.* English merchants resented those exactions all the more that the King of France had asked Queen Elizabeth to furnish six ships of war during six months, to be sent into the river Gironde and protect the maritime commerce there, the charges to be borne by all except English subjects.†

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Eliz., 1601-1603, p. 140.

† *Idem*, 1591-1594, p. 286.

CHAPTER IX.

THE other French wines, besides those of Guienne and Gascony, which were shipped to England, were those of Poitou, Anjou, Orleans and Burgundy.

Poitou wines were known in England at a very early date,* and the fact that they continued to be largely imported into this country during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is evidenced by the large proportion of Rochelle wines forming the cargo of the numerous captures of merchantmen at sea.

In 1402, for instance, 200 tuns of Rochelle wines were seized in a ship off the Isle of Wight,† and, in 1403, seventy-nine tuns of white Rochelle wines were taken from some vessels on their way to Weymouth.‡

In 1424, a ship of Brittany, bringing a cargo of Rochelle wine to England, was captured at sea,§ and, in 1426, ninety-six tuns of Poitou wine were forcibly seized in Kent, from the merchants who brought them.||

* See History of the Wine Trade in England, Vol. I.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 4 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 7d.

‡ *Idem*, Part II., m. 30d; also 5 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 34d.

§ Calend. Patent Rolls, 3 Hen. VI., Part I., m. 11d.

|| *Idem*, 4 Hen. VI., Part II., m. 19d.

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, English merchants are said to have come in great number to La Rochelle, St. Jean d'Angély, and as far as Saintes, for wine,* Henry VII. granting many licences to those who wished to import Poitou wine into England.†

A century later, during the last ten years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there were, on an average, 6,000 tuns of wine shipped from the Charente every year to England.‡

During the whole of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century, the price of Rochelle wine was the same as that of Gascon and other French wines,§ but in 1552, when Guienne, Gascon, and French wines were ordered not to be sold above 8d. per gallon, Rochelle was not to be retailed for more than 4d. per gallon.|| This difference in price leads us to infer that the produce of the vineyards of Poitou had lost much of its former quality and popularity, the more so that it was maintained afterwards, and even aggravated by the order repeatedly enacted that whilst Gascon and French wines were to be sold at a certain price, "Rochelle and other small and thin wines" were always to be sold £2 per tun cheaper.¶

From Nantes, some Anjou and Orleans wines were occasionally shipped to England, but, apparently, in no very considerable quantity.

* Lettre de Louis XI. à Mr. de Bressuire, A.D., 1473, in L'Hermite de Soliers, *Le Cabinet du Roy Louis XI.*

† Campbell, Henry VII., Vol. II., pp. 340, 342, etc.

‡ Fr. Michel, *Hist. du Com. et de la Nav. à Bordeaux*, Vol. II., p. 50.

§ Letter Book I, fo. 76b, A.D.

1409; fo. 133, A.D. 1414; fo. 185b, A.D. 1416. Letter Book M, fo. 22b, A.D. 1513.

|| Stat. 7 Ed. VI., cap. 5., A.D. 1552.

¶ Letter Book Y, fo. 283, A.D. 1578. Letter Book Z, fo. 8, 9, A.D. 1579; fo. 105, 105b, A.D. 1580; fo. 262, A.D. 1581; fo. 341, 341b, A.D. 1583.

In 1399, eighty-five tuns of wine shipped from Nantes were captured at sea,* and the same fate befell, in 1423, a ship of Brittany laden with forty-four tuns of wine of Nantes, and twenty-four tuns of Orleans wine.†

In 1466, thirty tuns "of the growth of the Duchy of Brittany," were shipped from Nantes,‡ and in 1469, a ship laden with thirty-seven tuns of wine of Anjou was captured at sea.§

In 1481, the *Mary of Alderney*, with a cargo of wine from Nantes, was also seized;|| in 1594, wine was exported from Nantes to Scotland.¶

Orleans, more renowned in modern times for its vinegar than its wines, used to produce a wine which enjoyed a great reputation in England during the sixteenth century.

In 1528, one William Forman was sent to Roanne, where he purchased twenty-one tuns of wine of Orleans for Henry VIII., at a cost of £112 17s. 4d.**

In 1536, in 1537, and again in 1539, wines of Orleans were sent to Cromwell from Calais.†† In 1562, there is a mention of two pipes of white wine of Orleans,‡‡ and, in 1571, the Earl of Rutland bought six tuns of wine of Orleans.§§

Although Orleans wine was sometimes shipped from Nantes, it was more commonly sent to Rouen, and thence to England, either direct or *via* Calais.||||

* Calend. Patent Rolls, Rotulus viagii, 1 Hen. IV., m. 36.

† Calend. Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. VI., Part IV., m. 12d.

‡ *Idem*, 6 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 17d.

§ *Idem*, 9 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 17d.

|| Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, Vol. XXVII., No. 17.

¶ *Idem*, Domestic Series, 1591-1594, p. 496.

** Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. IV., Part II., No. 5109.

†† Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XI., No. 1089; Vol. XII., Part II., No. 1280; Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 569.

‡‡ Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1580, p. 204.

§§ Rutland MSS., Vol. I., p. 94.

|||| Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XVI., No. 492, A.D. 1541.

All the other French wines sent to England had to pass through Rouen, the most important transit mart of the French and English wine trade during the Middle Ages.

Henry V. ordered that all transactions be carried through brokers whom he instituted at Rouen for the convenience of the wine trade,* and the capital of Normandy acquired greater importance still when Guienne and Gascony were lost to the English Crown, and a far more considerable quantity of French wines were shipped by way of the Seine to England.

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, there was quite an active trade carried on between Rouen and London, Southampton, Hull, Exeter, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bristol, Poole, Malden, Lynn, Hartlepool, and other English ports.†

Although wine was made in many parts of Normandy,‡ all along the valley of the Seine, and even on the heights of Clignencourt and Montmartre,§ in the immediate vicinity of Paris,§ most, if not all, the wine shipped from Rouen to England came from more distant districts, such as Orleans, Auxerre or

* Bot. Normann., 7 Hen. V., m. 71d.

† Fréville, Commerce Marit. de Rouen, Vol. I., p. 305.

‡ In 1405, the *vin de Beaune* cost 40 francs, at Rouen, the *vin de Mantes*, 25 francs, the *vin français* 13 francs, and the *vin du pays* 6 francs only. D'Avenel, Vol. III., p. 265. In 1419, Henry V. forbade the buying of wine in large quantities by English *soldiers* or merchants in Normandy. Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 615.

§ "Et le lundy. 9 Septembre, lesdits Bretons et Bourguignons furent es terrouers de Clignencourt. Montmartre, la Courtille et aultres

vignobles d'entour Paris, prendre et vendengier tout la vendage qui y estoit, iacoit — ce qu'elle n'estoit point meure, et en firent du vin tel quel pour le boire. Et a ceste cause furent ceulx de Paris contrains de vendanger les aultres partout autour de Paris, qui n'estoient pas a demi-meures, et aussi le temps leur fut fort contraire. Et fut la plus meschante année et poure vignée qui long temps fut secüe en France et l'appelloit on le vin de l'année des Bourguignons."—Jean de Troyes, Histoire de Louis XI., dite Chronique Scandaleuse. Ed. 1714. p. 65.

Beaune, producing wines of much better quality and better suited for export.

In 1483, the Duke of Norfolk was granted a licence to import from Rouen into England 100 casks of wine, either of France, Normandy, or Guienne.*

On December 8th, 1512, Louis XII. sent to James IV. of Scotland, 36 puncheons of *Vin de Beaune cléret*, 51 of Orleans claret, 8 of white wine of Blois and 12 of white wine of the growth of Bagneux, near Paris, in all 108 puncheons of French wines.†

In 1536, some Auxerre wine was sent from Rouen direct to Cromwell, in London,‡ and, in the following year, he received some more which had, however, been shipped from Rouen to Calais, and thence to England.§

In 1537, in 1538, and in 1540, some Auxerre wine was sent from Rouen to Lord Lisle, at Calais.||

In 1537, Lord Lisle also received from Rouen, ten pieces of wine of Beaune,¶ and in the autumn of that same year, 1,500 muids of Burgundy wine passed through Rouen for Abbeville.**

In 1538, an advice dated from Brussels of some wines of Burgundy (Borgoyn), sent to Henry VIII. by Hutton, leads us to infer that those wines were sometimes shipped to England *via* Flanders.††

* Rot. Franc., 1 Ric. III., m. 15.

† Letters and Papers relating to the War with France, 1512-1513, by Alfred Srompt, p. 70. (Navy Records Society Publications.)

‡ Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. X., No. 1028.

§ *Idem*, Vol. XII., Part I., No. 385.

|| *Idem*, Vol. XII., Part I., No. 285, 462; Vol. XIV., Part I., No. 1037; Vol. XV., No. 1030, sec. 49.

¶ *Idem*, Vol. XII., Part I., No. 285.

** *Idem*, Vol. XII., Part II., No. 1040.

†† *Idem*, Vol. XIII., Vol. I., p. 507.

According to the accounts of Thomas Lord Buckhurst, the total quantity of French wine (*i.e.*, from Rouen and Calais) imported into England between 1559 and 1565, amounted to 7,576 tuns, on which an additional tax of 13s. 4d. per tun had been levied.*

In 1571, the Earl of Rutland bought four tuns of wine of Burgundy.†

In 1575, when Queen Elizabeth joined the Duke of Burgundy against France, the import of French wines was practically stopped, only twenty-four tuns reaching London by March 28th.‡

As regards the wines of Champagne, they were not imported into England before the seventeenth century, with the exception of a few casks which were occasionally sent to some exalted personage.

Thus, in November, 1518, twenty puncheons of Ay wine were sent to Wolsey by one Bonnyvet, who says that the wine he is sending is very good, but adds that the Cardinal's vines had been a failure that year (*voz vignes nont gueres bien rencontre ceste année*).§ This letter seems to prove that Wolsey had a vineyard at Ay, and St. Evremond also said that Henry VIII. possessed vines there, although I have failed to find any contemporary evidence to that effect.

The high price of the Champagne wines during the sixteenth century, the lack of cheap means of transport to the sea coast, and the chronic scarcity of

* Hubert Hall, A History of Custom Revenue in England.

† Rutland MSS., Vol. I., p. 94.

‡ *Idem*, p. 103.

§ These twenty puncheons were despatched, on November 23rd,

1518, to Calais, addressed to the treasurer there, who would have them shipped to London. Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., Nos. 4591. 4597.

the wine at a time when no reserve stocks were kept, prevented these wines from being shipped to England regularly.

Viticulture and the art of wine-making were held in great esteem all along the Rhine, the Moselle, the Main, and the Neckar from a very early date,* and Bacci gives us a very long list of all the most renowned Alsatian and German vine-growing districts during the sixteenth century. "The wine produced along the Rhine," adds the old doctor, "is exported in large quantities to England and Scotland, as well as to other parts, and there is such abundance of wine, in some remarkably good years, such as 1582, that the farmers have to throw the old wine into the river in order to have a sufficient number of casks to lodge the new wine."†

In England, Rhenish was a generic name covering all Alsatian, Rhenish, Moselle and other German wines, no distinction being made in their respective growths until the seventeenth century, and no particular vintage being mentioned before the end of the same century.‡

The wines, however, which seem to have been held in the highest estimation were those of Alsace and the Upper Rhine. Those of Alsace were reputed for their strength and vinosity, and were

* See History of the Wine Trade in England, Vol. I. In the fifteenth century the wine trade was considered as one of the noblest guilds in Germany, and many members of the aristocracy were actively engaged in it. See Eugen Nübling, *Ulm's Weinhandel im Mittelalter*, p. 18.

† See Bacci, *De Nat. Vin. Hist.*

Lib. VII. He also says that Italian and Levant vines, chiefly Muscats, formed a large proportion of the plants to be seen in German vineyards, a fact to which he attributes the heaviness and strength of those wines.

‡ Hans Hartmeyer, *Der Weinhandel im Gebiete der Hanse im Mittelalter*.

largely exported to England, as also those of Landau, which, Bacci says, were in his time considered the best.*

The produce of the Heidelberg vineyards appears to have been very greatly esteemed by Englishmen during the sixteenth century. In May, 1538, Thomas Goldwell, on his way to Rome, paid a visit to the University of Heidelberg, "where," he says in a letter to his father, "there is the best and delectablest wine that ever I drank."†

On November 30th, 1539, Frederick, Count Palatine, writing to Lord Lisle from Heidelberg, said: "I send you two pieces of wine, the one white and the other claret, of the best growths of this country. Although the season has been indifferent, I think, from what I hear from France, that you will find it passable."‡

Francfort-on-Main, Treves, Mayence and, above all, Cologne, were the chief marts of the Rhenish wine trade, where the produce of the vineyards of the Moselle, the Saar, the Neckar, as well as of the Rhine, was brought for sale to foreigners attending the autumn or "vintage" fairs there, and to native merchants trading with the Baltic and Flemish ports.

Bruges was for a very long time an active centre of the international trading of Lower Germany. The German ships bringing their Rhenish wines to Sluys, Bruges' outport, exchanged them there for the

* Bacci, *De Nat. Vin. Hist.* p. 338.

† Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIII., Part I., No. 935.

‡ *Idem*, Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 611.

vintages of Gascony, Spain, or the Levant, which the great Venetian galleys brought there.

In 1491, Antwerp was chosen instead of Bruges as the Flemish staple town for wines,* and its importance grew so rapidly that, at the close of the following century, it had become the largest and most important wine mart of the world, where a greater abundance and a greater variety of all the wines then known were to be found, which were thence exported to England and other countries.†

A certain proportion of the Rhenish wine imported into England also came from the Low Countries, particularly Dordrecht and Utrecht,‡ whilst the Hanse merchants who traded in Moselle, Alsatian and Rhenish wine at a very early date,§ appear to have practically relinquished this branch of commerce during the latter part of the sixteenth century. In Lubeck, for instance, the total exports of Rhenish wine to all parts averaged only 800 or 900 ohms yearly, all the stocks, in 1571, amounting to only 854 ohms;|| in Bremen, it is said that there were no more than 200 ohms of Rhenish wine in the merchants' cellars.¶

Rhenish wine was not imported to any very considerable extent in England before the closing

* Hans Hartmeyer, *Der Weinhandel im Gebiete der Hanse im Mittelalter*.

† Bacci, *De Nat. Vin. Hist.*, p. 350.

‡ In 1453, Bishop Rudolph, of Utrecht, levied a duty on wines passing through the town. Hans Hartmeyer, *Der Weinhandel im Gebiete der Hanse im Mittelalter*.

§ See Vol. I. A mention of dealers in Moselle and Alsatian wines, in 1433, appears to be the

earliest instance of a difference made between these wines (originally included in the Rhine wine-merchants' monopoly) and Rhenish. Hans Hartmeyer, *Der Weinhandel im Gebiete der Hanse im Mittelalter*.

|| Wehrmann, *Der Ratsweinkeller zu Lübeck*, in *d. Zeitschrift. d. Vereins für lüb. Gesch.*, Bd. II., p. 99.

¶ Beneke, *Hamburgische Geschichten und Denkwürdigkeiten*, p. 250.

years of the sixteenth century, but it appears to have always been held in high esteem and to have fetched fairly high prices, which, curiously enough, show only very slight fluctuations according to place or time.

Thus, whilst the gallon of Rhenish cost 1s. 5d. at Writtle, in Essex, in 1443, it only cost 1s. 8d., a century later, in 1558, in London. In 1508, at Cambridge, in 1510, at Hulme, in 1522, at Hunstanton, and in 1536, at Birling, the cost of Rhenish wine was uniformly 1s. per gallon.*

During the latter part of the sixteenth century the price of Rhenish rose rapidly, to 2s. per gallon, in 1583, at Mendham, 2s. 9d. per gallon, in 1589, at Kirtling, and reaching 3s. 4d. per gallon, in 1594, in London.

It is also worthy of remark that most of, if not all, the Rhenish wine imported outside London is to be found in East Anglia, at Lynn, in 1474,† Stamford, in 1550,‡ as well as Cambridge, Norwich, etc.

Rhenish was bought for the royal household from time to time, but always in small quantities, the only exception being supplied by a contract between Henry VIII. and John Grousby, gentleman, and Wilhem Wurden, merchant of the Steelyard, who were allowed to export 800 tuns of beer, provided they brought 400 ohms of Rhenish wine to London before Christmas, 1543, each ohm to contain thirty-six gallons, and the wine to be "of the best sort, and such as the Emperor, the Duke of Cleves, and other estates use to drink"; the price agreed to was

* Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., p. 516. *See* Appendix to this volume, p. 260 *et seq.*

† Lynn MSS., in Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part III., p. 225.
‡ Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 367.

30s. per ohm, and the merchants were further compelled by their bond to bring before the following Easter as much more as should make 400 tuns, and the remainder of 800 tuns, before midsummer.*

The following letter, dated from London, July 26th, 1600, written by Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, to Sir Robert Cecil, deserves to be published here :—

“ I have brought with me from Embden a vat of Rhenish wine containing six score gallons, or as they are termed there, three *ames*. This vessel I entreat you to accept, and to send me word whether I shall send it to the Court, or to your house, at the Savoy. You should not have had it, but that I did so surfeit at Embden in quaffing to such and so many healths, not forgetting yours (but remembering you better, I trust, in my prayers), that now I can be well content to part with it, and to make it, as you have made me, that is, your own for ever.”†

It is possible that some of the German wine imported into England came from the vineyards of North Germany, although it can never have been to any large extent. In 1540, the wines of Wildung were said to be superior to those of the Rhine, and William IV., Landgrave of Hesse, praised the wines of Cassel of the year 1571 above all others ; the red wines of Witzenhauser were also highly esteemed by Frederic II.‡

* Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XVIII., Part II., No. 449, sec. 22. Rhenish wine and Malmsey bought for the royal household in 1530. See *Archæologia*, Vol. III., p. 156.
† Salisbury MSS., Part X., pp. 245, 246.

‡ See J. B. Nordhoff. *Der vormalige Weinbau in Norddeutschland*. Münster, 1877, p. 37; Lüntzel, *Geschichte der Diocese und Stadt Hildesheim*. I., 325, 329; Landau, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Weinbaues in Hessen*, III., 160.

Although no trade can be said to have existed in Austrian and Hungarian wines in England during or previous to the sixteenth century, these were not totally unknown in London at a very remote time.

Némety says that long before the end of the sixteenth century, the fame of the wine of Tokay had spread abroad, and that the export of this wine was a lucrative source of commerce with the countries of northern Europe.* Far more precise, however, is a letter of Henry VII. to the Venetian Senate, in 1508, asking permission to export a certain wine, which, he says, he has been in the habit of purchasing, because it agrees with him, and which was sent from *Vilacho*. The Emperor had excused himself for being unable to send this wine to England, as *Vilacho* had recently been acquired by Venice.† The permission was granted, and, about three months later, the Signory received another letter from Henry VII., thanking them for the good reception they had accorded the envoy he had sent for the wine *di Vipao*.‡ Whether this wine, *de Vilacho* or *Vipao*, refers to *Wippach*, three leagues north of Trieste, or to *Villach*, further north, is difficult to ascertain, but in any case the predilection of the King of England for some Austrian vintage cannot be denied.

Istria and most of the southern provinces of the Austrian Empire produced wine in abundance, some of which was introduced into England. This was particularly the case with the wines of Rivoglio, which

* G. Némety, *Memoria sul vino chiamato Presmone di Tokay*. Venezia, 1846, p. 29. This assumption is based on the following passage in Frano. Forgách *Rer. Hung. sui temporis (circa 1575)*, p. 228: "Est autem ad Tokaium nobilissimi,

atque praestantissimi vini uberri-mus redivus, quod in septentrionales regiones longissime negotiatores quotannis distrahere solent."

† *Calend. of State Papers, Venice*, Vol. I., p. 331, No. 911.

‡ *Idem*, No. 925.

went by the name of *Riboldi*, and were known as *Rybole* in England as early as the fourteenth century.*

Of all mediæval wines, those of Spain were the strongest and most lasting,† and the reputation of the drier sorts, which were shipped to England from Port St. Mary, became very great in England during the latter part of the sixteenth century.

The yearly exports of wine from Cadiz and Port St. Mary to England and northern European ports alone amounted then to 60,000 butts on an average,‡ of which England received a large proportion; in fact, the quantity of Sack imported from Spain was, during some years, greater than that of Bordeaux wines.§

Although there are numerous records of Spanish wine shipped to England long before the sixteenth century,|| there does not appear to be any official document, previous to 1517, regulating the Cadiz and Jerez wine trade with England. By an order of March 14th, 1517, renewed, in 1530, by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a special protection was granted to all Englishmen coming to Seville, Cadiz, and Jerez for wines.¶

* See History of the Wine Trade, Vol. I., p. 218. See Hansische Geschichtsbl. IV., Jahrg. 1889, in d. Rezens üb. Kunze, Hanseakten aus England, p. 225.

† Bacci (De Nat. Vin. Hist., Lib. VII., p. 363) says that well-to-do people often laid down wine at the birth of a son, which was to be drunk at his coming of age; he also says that many Spanish wines could be kept twenty, thirty and even fifty years without deteriorating.

‡ Bacci, De Nat. Vin. Hist., Lib. VII.

§ Letter of Ed. Tremaine to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, March 29th, 1565. Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, Eliz., Vol. XII.

|| See History of the Wine Trade in England, Vol. I., Index, at *Wines of Spain*; also Thorold Rogers, A.D. 1462; also Calend. Patent Rolls, 3 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 11d., January 2nd, 1464; 11 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 8d., July 15th, 1471, etc.

¶ Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. IV., Part III., No. 6686.

It was then, and, as far as can be ascertained, not before, that the name of *Sack* or *Seck* was used to design those Spanish wines which were not as sweet as most of the other Peninsular, Italian, or Levant wines; there is, therefore, every reason to believe that Falstaff never heard of Sack during the reign of Henry IV., although this wine was very popular in Shakespeare's time, who made his hero drink and talk of a beverage well known to his hearers, although unknown at a time when the action represented actually took place.

There is no mention of Sack in any proclamation fixing the price wine was to be retailed at in England, until 1532, when it was ordered to be sold at 12d. the gallon, like Malmsey, Romeney, and othersweet wines.* This Statute was re-enacted in 1536,† but the reason why Sack was included with "other sweet wines" was that it came from the same parts as these, and not that it was also a sweet wine; thus, in 1539, when the assize for claret was fixed at 8d. per gallon, *sweet wines* were to be sold at 12d. and *Sack*, in a category of its own, at 15d.‡

Its popularity spread rapidly throughout England, and there were few inns, in country and town alike, where Sack could not be found. In 1533, it only cost 10d. per gallon, at Stonor;§ in 1539, at Ware, Sack was served to the Countess of Rutland when she stopped at the inn on her way to Belvoir;|| in 1541, Sack is mentioned at Lincoln, and it cost 1s. per gallon in London; in 1542, it is mentioned at Newark, and

* Stat. 23 Hen. VIII., cap. 7.

† Stat. 28 Hen. VIII., cap. 14.

‡ Letter Book P, fo. 131b.

§ Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., p. 516.

|| Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 290.

the Earl of Rutland bought a butt of Sack, in London, for 73s. 2d.*

It is deserving of notice that in the manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland preserved at Belvoir Castle, as well as in those of the Duke of Northumberland, at Syon House, Sack is almost invariably spelt *Seck*.†

Sack was shipped, like Gascon and Poitou wines, very soon after the vintage ; in a letter written to Lord Lisle by his agent, in November, 1539, he stated that no new Sack had yet arrived in London, where it was expected, adding that he had not been able to find any old Sack that was good.‡

On August 29th, 1541, in a letter to the Queen of Hungary, Chapuys wrote that in a month or six weeks hence, *i.e.*, at the beginning of October, a fleet of sixty English ships would be in Andalusia to fetch wines,§ just as Englishmen used to go in fleets to Gascony in former years.

In 1546, purchases of Sack are recorded in the Wardrobe Accounts and in the Navy Accounts.|| In 1556, Sack cost as much as 2s. 4d. per gallon at Oxford;¶ in 1561, it cost 1s. 8d. at Norwich;** in 1565, and again in 1568, it cost 2s. at Oxford;** in 1566, the butt of Sack was sold at £5 15s. in London.** Sack is also mentioned in the Mayor of Rochester's accounts for the year 1578.††

In 1574,‡‡ and in 1580,§§ there are some further

* Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., pp. 312, 320.

† See Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., *also* MSS. of the Duke of Northumberland in the Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 229, A.D. 1593-1597, 1599-1600.

‡ Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 596.

§ *Idem*, Vol. XVI., No. 1126.

|| Thorold Rogers, Vol. III., p. 516.

¶ Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, Mary, Vol. VII.

** Thorold Rogers, Vol. III., p. 517.

†† Archæologia Cantiana, Vol. II., p. 27. See *also* Vol. IX.

‡‡ Letter Book X, fo. 361b.

§§ Lemon, Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1547-1580, p. 698.

mentions of Spanish wine imported into England, but the war with Spain, which soon afterwards broke out, had a disastrous influence on this branch of the English wine trade.

There are, however, mentions of purchases of Sack, in 1583, at Kirtling and Oxford; in 1584 and 1585, at Worksop; in 1586, at Canterbury and Gawthorp, etc.

In 1587, Sir Francis Drake raided Cadiz, carrying away no less than 2,900 pipes of wine,* a prize which must have been all the more appreciated in England, that Spanish wines had become very rare since the declaration of war between the two countries, which had brought about a complete cessation of commercial intercourse; what Sack was sold in England was either the produce of captures at sea, or brought by neutrals and at great risk.†

Some English merchants sent to French ports for the Sacks they wished to import. Thus, one Thomas Honyman, merchant of London, sent his clerk, Lambart, to St. Malo with some goods to be either sold or exchanged for wine. On January 10th, 1597, Lambart wrote as follows: "I will stay a little longer to see what can be done, and wait the coming of the ships out of Spain, which are daily expected with good wine, and send it to Bristol, a better place for them than London."‡

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, Eliz., Vol. XXX., No. 21.

† In 1591, a Dane fetched a cargo of Sack from St. Lucar for London; his ship was seized and sunk by Webb and others. Calend. of State

Papers, Domestic Series, 1591-1594, p. 99. St. Lucar was the natural port of Seville, and only a short distance to the west of Port St. Mary.

‡ Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1595-1597, p. 346. ㄱ

In 1594, a municipal tax of 6d. per tun was imposed on all wines coming from Andalusia.*

On June 19th, 1596, eight English ships entered the Bay of Cadiz, burnt Port St. Mary, and captured forty merchant vessels laden with wine, sinking many others.†

In May, 1597, the Earl of Cumberland brought to London 143 prize ships which had been captured at sea, laden with 597 butts of Sack, as well as other Spanish and also French wines.‡

Sack, originally spelt *Seck*,§ was a dry amber wine, almost exclusively shipped from the South of Spain. This wine, however, was occasionally sweetened by the addition of honey or sugar, in order to meet the taste then so prevalent in England for sweet wines; and as its popularity in this country grew and brought forth many inferior imitations from other parts of Spain, the Canary Islands, Portugal, and the South of France, the poorer quality of which was not so noticeable when duly sweetened, the origin of the name *Sack* or *Seck*, meaning a dry wine, was soon lost, and it was indifferently bestowed on wines of different origin and various qualities.

Sherry Sack was sometimes used to design the wines of Jerez, whilst Canary Sack, Madeira Sack, dry Sack and sweet Sack, designated wines of a similar type, but of entirely different growths.

* MSS. of G. F. Luttrell, Esq., Dunster Castle, in the Tenth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part VI., p. 74.

† Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1595-1597, pp. 244, 258.

‡ *Idem*, p. 432.

§ Item, for a gallon of claret wyne and Seck, and a pound of sugar given to Sir John Russell, iiii*s*. (Account of the disbursements of the Chamberlain of the City of Worcester for the year 1592. *See also above*, p. 208. (Rutland and Northumberland MSS.)

Venner, who has discussed the question whether "Sack be best to be taken with sugar or without," says: "Some affect to drinke Sacke with sugar and some without, and upon no other ground, as I thinke, but that, as it is best pleasing to their pallates. I will speake that I deeme thereof, and I thinke I shall well satisfie such as are judicious. Sacke taken by itself is very hot, and very penetrative, being taken with sugar, the heat is both somewhat allayed, and the penetrative quality thereof also retardated. Wherefore, let this be the conclusion: Sacke taken by itself, without any mixture of sugar, is best for them that have cold stomackes, and subjects to the obstructions of it, and of the meserencks veines. But for them that are free from such obstructions, and fear lest that the drinking of Sacke, by reason of the penetrative faculty of it, might distemper the liver, it is best to drinke it with sugar; and so I leave every man that understandeth his owne state of body to be his own director herein."

Although the wines of Jerez were shipped in greater plenty to England than those of any other part of Spain, chiefly owing to the advantageous geographical situation of the district, much wine was made in the northern provinces, which was held in the highest estimation, although the difficulties of bringing it to the seaports frequented by English shipping were so great that the cost of the wine was much enhanced and the quantities shipped accordingly limited.

Tarragonese wines were highly praised by the Romans, and were greatly appreciated throughout the Middle Ages for their strength,* but they do

* Bacci, *De Nat. Vin. Hist.* p. 364.

not appear to have been imported into England then. In 1413, an export duty of 5 per cent. was levied at Barcelona on all wines shipped from that port,* but there is no proof that any of these exports were destined for England.

The wines of the northern district, called La Ribera, chiefly from the vineyards of Rioja, Logrono and Navarette, were red wines of average strength, and greatly esteemed for their sweetness; they were known in England as *Ryvere* wines.†

Bacci says that the wines of Toro were considered the best in Spain, and that at Arandu de Duero, in the same district, there were large wine vaults where considerable stocks of wine were kept for export. The old doctor also praises the wine of San Martin, a small quantity of which was sent to Henry VIII., in 1513,‡ and there are records of merchants from Salamanca, Burgos, Valeodoleta and Medina who brought wine to London and Southampton.§

The wines of Galicia, chiefly from the banks of the Minho, were abundant, but held in no great estimation in England, where they appear to have been brought only when they happened to be included in the cargo of a captured Spanish vessel.

In 1595, Drake and Hawkins reported the capture of some carvels with Galicia wine, which, they add, is of small value;|| and in 1599, a Spanish sailor from a prize bark of Pontaneda, in Galicia, said that the King was taking up most of the wines

* Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I., p. 627.

† Bacci, *De Nat. Vin. Hist.*, and *Letter Book H*, fo. 260.

‡ Brewer, *Henry VIII.*, Vol. I., No. 4267.

§ *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 1 Ric. III., Part V., m. 21, April 25th, 1484.

|| *Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1595-1597, p. 76.

in Galicia, and sending them to Ferrol to be ready for the army he intended to gather there.*

The Spaniards introduced viticulture into the Canary Islands during the sixteenth century, and both the soil and the climate were so favourable to this branch of agriculture, that large quantities of wines were exported, not only to Spain, but all over Europe, before the end of the same century.

This wine was probably similar to those of Jerez, but sweeter, since Venner wrote that "Canarie wine, which beareth the name of the islands from whence it is brought, is of some termed a *Sacke*, with this adjunct, *sweete*."

English merchants went to the Canary Island to fetch wine, in 1598, during the war between England and Spain, and a Scotch ship was bringing some Canary wine to Scotland when captured by Sir John Gilbert.†

Portugal attained its highest glory and prosperity during the sixteenth century, but the great discoveries of her navigators did not benefit the agricultural prosperity of the realm on account of the tremendous exodus of the inland population towards the ports. Agriculture and commerce find no place in the historical records depicting the state of Portugal during that period, but this is due only to the exaggerated political importance attached to maritime affairs.

As far as viticulture and the art of wine-making were concerned, Portugal was in no wise inferior to Spain or any other country, says Bacci, who adds that

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1598-1601, p. 163.

† *Idem*, 1598-1601, p. 28, May

24th, 1598; p. 171, March 22nd, 1599; p. 419, A.D. 1599.

the generous wine of Portugal was shipped in great plenty to all parts of the world, legislation having even prohibited the introduction of vines into the newly-discovered Indies for fear of despoiling the home farmers of a very lucrative and important outlet for their wines.*

As far as England is concerned, the documents relating to the trade in wines with Portugal are very scanty, and it is probable that this branch of the English wine trade was only very little developed ; but, at the same time, it cannot be said that Portuguese wines were altogether unknown in England at the time.

In 1402, several Lisbon merchants, subjects of the King of Portugal, complained of their ship being seized at sea with a cargo of seventy-four tuns of wine and other merchandise.†

In 1404, a similar complaint was preferred by a Piemontese, residing in Portugal, whose ship and bastard wine had been captured at sea.‡

In 1412, Henry IV. bought ninety-six pipes of wine of the Algarves from Oliver Martin, a Portuguese merchant.§

In 1422, some Brittany merchants freighted a vessel at Lisbon with bastard wine and other goods.||

In 1436, the author of the *Libel of English Policy* mentions the wine and osey which was then shipped to England from Portugal.¶

* Bacci, *De Nat. Vin. Hist.*, p.368.

† *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 4 Hen. IV., Part II., m. 291.

‡ *Idem*, 6 Hen. IV., Part I., m. 19d.

§ *Devon. Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 328, 329.

|| *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 2 Hen. VI., Part III., m. 10d.

¶ Thos. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, Vol. II.

A century later, in February, 1534, four Portuguese ships laden with wine destined to Waterford were separated by bad weather, and one of them, the *Santa Maria de Feci*, anchored in Baltemore haven, before Inyshircan Island and Doronighlonge Castle. The islanders came aboard and invited the Waterford merchants from the Portuguese ships to dinner at the Castle; this they accepted, and when they had well dined, the islanders treacherously cast them into irons, manned their galleys, took their ship, and distributed seventy-two tuns of wine amongst their neighbours. The news reached Waterford on March 3rd, and forthwith twenty-five men set sail for Baltemore haven, which they entered the next day, releasing the Portuguese and Waterford merchants.*

In that same year, 1538, a Portuguese ship was captured and brought to Chepstow, where her cargo of Romeney wines was sold.†

The following year, in 1539, there were upwards of twenty English and French merchant vessels anchored at the entrance of the port of Lisbon, where they had gone to fetch wine.‡

In 1555, a fleet of eighteen ships arrived from Portugal in Zealand, bringing wines and other goods.§

In 1589, regulations were drawn for English ships of the company of Portugal and Spain trading with the Peninsula.||

In 1595, a Portuguese ship was wrecked on the Carmarthenshire coast with a cargo of wine; and in

* Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIII., Part I., No. 872.

† *Idem*, Part II., No. 347.

‡ Gayangos, Calend. of State Papers, Spain, Vol. VI., Part I., p. 109.

§ Brown, Calend. of State Papers, Venice, Vol. VI., Part I., No. 173.

|| MSS. Cott. Galba, D. 5, fo. 99.

that year a large number of ships took wine from Lisbon to Ferrol.*

In 1596, Damas Johnson, master of the *St. Jacob*, of Rotterdam, and Adrian Peterson, master of the *Hunter*, of Flushing, went to Portugal to buy wine, and it is said that at the time there were several Flemish merchants established at Oporto.†

In May, 1597, Captain Watson reported that twenty vessels were then at Oporto lading 1,000 pipes of wine for the army at Ferrol.‡

Bastard wine is called, in the *Libel of English Policy*, A.D. 1436, a Spanish wine,§ whilst some was shipped from Lisbon to England, in 1422.|| At Norwich, in 1424, bastard cost about 1s. 6d. per gallon, and 1s. 10d. at Oxford, in 1425;¶ it cost 1s. 4d. per gallon in 1445, and again, in 1500, at Cambridge, and, in 1484, at Oxford.** In 1510, it cost 1s. 2d. per gallon at Hulme, and only 1s. in 1514, at Hickling.** In 1550, there is a mention of bastard wine, at Canterbury,†† and, in 1578, another at Galway.‡‡

Ossey, which was also a Peninsular wine,§§ was imported in much smaller quantities than in the fourteenth century. It was provided for the house-

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1595-1597, pp. 139, 443.

† *Idem*, p. 172.

‡ *Idem*, p. 417.

§ Wright, Political Poems and Songs, Vol. II.

|| Calend. Patent Rolls, 2 Hen. VI., Part III., m. 10d.

¶ Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., p. 510.

** *Idem*, pp. 511, 513, 514.

†† Canterbury Records, in the Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.

‡‡ Galway Archives, fo. 85. Tenth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part. V., p. 428.

§§ See History of the Wine Trade in England, Vol. I., Index, *Wines of Ossey*.

hold of the Duke of Clarence, in 1469,* and 200 tuns of Osey were shipped to England, in 1481.†

In 1421, when the Portuguese took the island of Madeira, it was covered by immense forests, which they set on fire; after the conflagration, which is said to have lasted seven years, vines and sugar canes were planted and thrived remarkably well. The wine which was obtained was very luscious, and resembled Malmsey, being shipped to England under that name as far back as 1537.‡

* Coll. of Ordin. for the Gov. of the Royal Household. p. 101.

† Calend. Patent Rolls. 20 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 10d.

‡ Gairdner, Hen. VIII., Part II., No. 751.

CHAPTER X.

THE consumption of Levant wines in England increased rapidly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Most popular of all were the Malmseys (Malvoisie) from Candia.

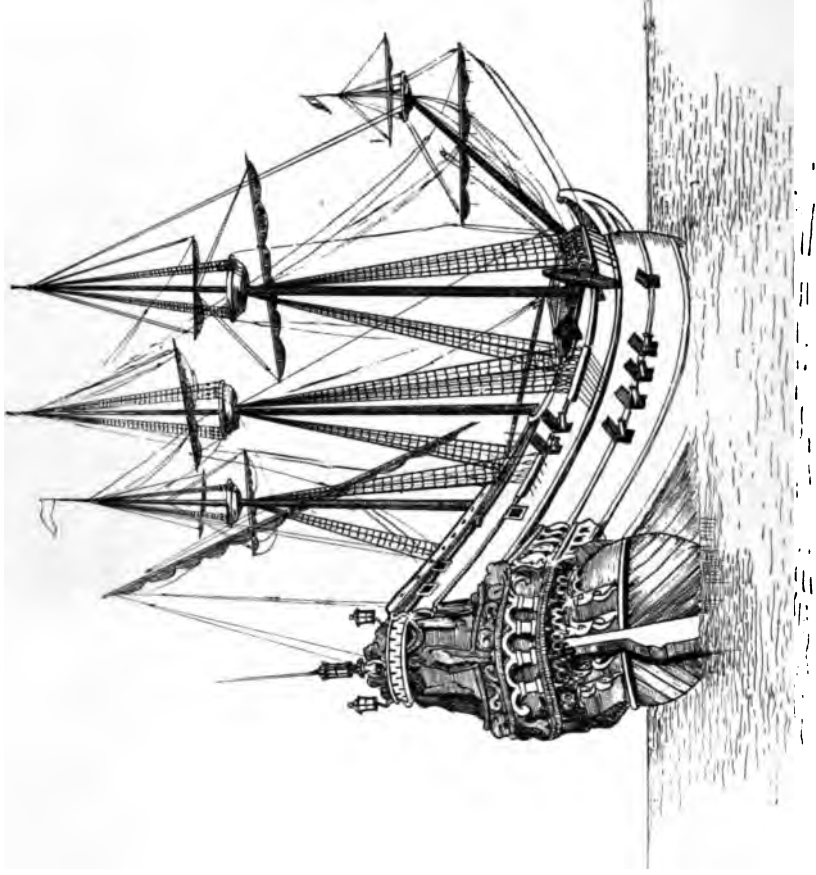
This island, formerly called *Crete*, was then under the domination of Venice, and grew such an abundance of wine that the Republic, according to Bacci, obtained no less than a hundred thousand ducats (about £22,500) annually from the taxes and duties levied by her officers on the wines exported.* These wines were known as *Malvasia Candia*, or *Candia Malmsey*, *Creticum vinum*, or wine of Crete, Rotimo Malmsey, from the name of one of the districts of the islands, and *Malvasia Garba*, a special sort of Malmsey with a more pungent taste. All these went by the generic name of Malmsey and were shipped from Candia, in very large quantities, to different parts of Europe. In Venice, by far the largest mart for Candia wines, there were never less than a thousand casks of it for sale, says Bacci, who adds that this wine was also exported direct to Spain, to Gaul, to the further limits of Great Britain and to Germany.†

The name *Malvasia* (Malmsey) is said by

* Bacci, *De Nat. Vin. Hist.*, Lib. VII., pp. 331, 332.

† *Idem*, " . . . et in Hispaniam

adnavigata, in Galliam, in extremam Britanniam, et in magnam Germaniam advecta."



SIXTEENTH CENTURY ITALIAN CARRACK BRINGING LEVANT WINES TO ENGLAND.

Caelvis Rhodiginus to have originated in Laconia, but it became the distinctive appellation of the style more than of the growth of certain wines. Although these were produced to greater excellence in Candia, where a very equable temperature and the peculiar nature of the soil were exceptionally well suited for the culture of the vine, similar wines, which also were sold as Malmsey, were made in Cyprus; Bacci states that, although of inferior quality, they were often sold abroad for Crete or Candia wine.

The Venetian trade with England was in a flourishing condition at the beginning of the fifteenth century, having further benefited by the privileges granted to Venice merchants by Richard II.* In 1408, the trade between Venice and England and Flanders was regulated by a set of measures which show that Venetian galleys undertook this then perilous voyage very regularly.† These regulations, which were altered and amplified from time to time, also prove beyond a doubt that wine formed an important part of the cargoes brought by Venetian galleys; thus, on August 21st, 1455, a decree of the Senate rendered the masters of the galleys responsible to freighters for deficiencies in butts or pipes of wine shipped for Flanders and England.‡

In 1453, the Venetian Senate sent a present of eight butts of wine to Henry VI.—a means of securing the monarch's favour, to which they had already had recourse.§

* Calend. of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy. Edited by Rawdon Brown. Vol. I., No. 130.

† *Idem*, No. 168.

‡ *Idem*, No. 324.

§ *Idem*, No. 315. July 5th, 1453.

The mentions of Malmseys sold in different parts of England are very numerous, and show how popular this kind of wine had become in the fifteenth century.

There was some sold at Southampton, in 1429,* at Winterton, in 1433, and the Corporation of Norwich bought Malmsey repeatedly in 1434, 1442, 1474, 1476, 1481, etc.† In 1450, and again in 1480, it was imported at Canterbury.‡

In 1465, Jerome Monelesso imported 242 pipes of Malmsey, which he forfeited for selling them in London before having them gauged.§

In 1472, a Venetian carrack was bringing over 400 casks of sweet wine to England when she was captured by French pirates, and there are other mentions of such Venetian vessels arriving or expected to arrive in England with wine, during that same year.||

In 1480, some Genoese merchants loaded wines in Candia which they sent to England.¶

In 1483, an effort was made by Parliament to redress abuses which were alleged to have found their way in the Malmsey trade in England, and, at the same time, to revive this branch of the wine trade, which had not been very flourishing during the preceding few years. The following Statute was accordingly enacted :—

“Parliament, considering that Malmsey (*Malvoisie*) was wont to be brought to England in great plenty before the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth

<p>* Southampton Records, Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part III., p. 135.</p> <p>† Thorold Rogers, <i>History of Agriculture</i>, Vol. III., pp. 510 <i>et seq.</i></p> <p>‡ Canterbury Records. Ninth</p>	<p>Report of the Commission on Historical MSS., Part I., pp. 136, 140.</p> <p>§ Calend. Patent Rolls, 5 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 29.</p> <p> <i>Idem</i>, 12 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 13.</p> <p>¶ <i>Idem</i>, 20 Ed. IV., Part I., m. 1d.</p>
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years of the reign of Henry VI., late in deed, and not of right King of England; and also that divers of the butts held in measure 140 gallons each, and others 132 gallons each, and the smallest of them held 126 gallons each; and also that one might buy and have of the merchant strangers, sellers of the said Malmsey, because of the said plenty, the wine at 50s. or 53s. 4d. at most per butt, for the payment of which two-fifths of the value was given in English woollen cloth, and the rest in cash. But, of late years, by the arts and wiles of such merchant strangers who sell this kind of wine, the butt of Malmsey has been so reduced and diminished that it barely contains 108 gallons; and besides, knowing, as it seems, the quantity of wine which will be required every year in England when they were wont to bring large and plentiful quantities of such wine to be sold according to the aforesaid prices, these crafty merchants will only bring to England, of latter times, barely enough for one year's consumption, and, by such means, they have raised the price of Malmsey to eight marks (£5 6s. 8d.) per butt, ready money, and no cloth, 'to the greate enryching of theym self and great deceit, losse, hurt, and damage' of the King, and of the Commons. In consideration of the above, the King was graciously pleased to act upon the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons assembled in Parliament, and to decree that no merchant or other person whatsoever, from the Feast of St. Michael next, onwards, bring or cause to be brought into England any butt of Malmsey for sale containing less than 126 gallons, etc."*

* Statutes of the Realm, 1 Ric. III., cap. 13; renewed by Stat. 23 Hen. VIII., cap. 7. and 28 Hen. VIII., cap. 14. The assize for other vessels than the butt was fixed as follows:—the tun to hold 252

During the reign of Henry VII., the importance of the trade in Malmseys, imported from Candia by the Venetians and English merchants alike, increased to a very considerable extent. The Venetian Senate, however, viewed the rapid growth of the English mercantile marine with the greatest jealousy. The Portuguese, by discovering a waterway to India round the Cape, had already robbed the Republic of the monopoly which her merchants had so long enjoyed of the Eastern trade, and it was thought advisable to take such measures as would at least secure for the Venetian galleys the freight of all the wines shipped from Candia and surrounding islands to England and Flanders.

On November 18th, 1488, the Senate met to consider the question of the Malmsey trade with England, and the following decree was the result :—

“ It is necessary to provide that all foreign ships and barques which trade every year to Candia to load Malmseys for the West, to the detriment of Venetian ships, do no longer trade, but make way for such Venetian ships as go on the Flanders voyage. And as the said ships take low freights, that is to say, four ducats per butt, while Venetian ships cannot load under seven ducats, it is put to the ballot (and agreed) that those who load in Candia on board for shipment after the 1st of March, 1489, for conveyance westward, do pay a duty in Candia (in addition to the ordinary duties) of four ducats on each butt containing forty-eight Venetian gallons, which money is to be expended on the fortifications of Candia.

gallons; the pipe to hold 126	gallons; the barrel to hold 31½
gallons; the tercian to hold 84	gallons.
gallons; the hogshead to hold 63	

“ Of the payment of this duty, shippers of Malmsey for the West must obtain certificates. If they have none, and be taken in with by the Senate’s galleys, their ships and cargo will be confiscated, half to go to the captor, and half to the governor who passes sentence; but they may not take any decision without licence from the Signory. The present decree may not be repealed, nor any amendment to it proposed, save by a majority of three-quarters of the College, under penalty of 1,000 ducats to be levied by the State attorneys. For execution of this present order, to the effect that Venetian ships do load Malmseys for the West, and that Venetians may build large ships, provision must be made that ships loading Malmseys may have suitable terms on their return from the West. Be it enacted, with regard to that the Signory’s ships and those of its subjects which convey Malmseys to the West and on their return load salt at Ivica for this town, whereas the salt office pays one ducat, ready money, per bushel, and seven ducats by instalment, so for the future they shall receive four ducats per bushel, ready money.

“ Our forefathers always took care that there should be a good number of large ships in this city for the maintenance of the navy, but at present there is no ship of upwards of 1,000 tons burden.”*

This new impost levied on English shipping in Candia, and the policy which had prompted it, were naturally very much resented in England. By way of retaliation, Henry VII. attempted to transfer the staple of wool from Venice to Pisa; English vessels were to bring the wool there and take back to England

* Calend. of State Papers, Venice, | ducats were voted to builders of
Vol. I., No. 544. Bounties of 3,000 | ships above 1,000 tons below deck.

the Malmseys that Venetian galleys should bring from Candia to Pisa, in order to obtain the wool they stood in need of. The Senate of Venice was greatly incensed at this spirited retort to their own ultra-protectionist policy, and it was decreed that, under no pretext whatsoever, should wines of Candia be sent to Pisa to be re-exported thence to England, as return cargo of foreign ships bringing wool. They were so earnest about it that one of their own number, a Venetian noble, Piero Contarini, having ordered one of his ships to load some 400 butts at Candia to be taken to Pisa, the Senate decreed that, under penalty of confiscation of ship and cargo, the said wines were not to be landed either at Leghorn or Pisa, or in any other place from which they could be conveyed in foreign ships westward; though in their own galleys or ships he might either send them into the West, or have them brought to Venice. To facilitate the execution of this order, and as indemnity in some part for his loss, Contarini was to be paid forthwith one ducat per butt from the moneys of the Signory, whether the wine be sent to the West or brought to Venice. This decree was to apply to all similar cases of merchants shipping wine from Candia to Pisa, or conveyed to Rhodes, Scio and elsewhere for shipment thence westward on board foreign vessels.*

With their usual diplomatic caution the Venetian Senate never mentioned England by name in these prohibitive decrees; but there can be little doubt that the crippling of the English mercantile marine was the real aim of the Signory by the tone of the

* *Calend. of State Papers*, etc., Venice, Vol. I., No. 569. May 20th, 1490.

letters which Henry VII. wrote at different times to the Senate, urging them to repeal their late ordinances, which were causing his subjects the greatest prejudice. These letters were at first ignored, and it was not until February 22nd, 1491, that the Senate met to consider what reply should be sent to the English monarch. It was then agreed, undoubtedly to gain time, to write to Henry, excusing themselves for their delay in answering his former letters and announcing the despatch of an envoy, Giacomo Venier, who would put by word of mouth the views of the Republic before the King, whose displeasure was caused by what he might have heard from the Florentines and other rivals of Venice.*

This envoy only left two months later, and it cannot be a matter of surprise that his mission proved a failure when one reads the weak arguments contained in the instructions he received from Doge Agostino Barbarigo :—

“ On arrival in England . . . present yourself to the King. After consigning your letter of credence, tell the King that we received his two letters, to which we did not reply by letter, having determined to give the answer through you in order to do honour to His Majesty. By those letters, he informed us that he objected to our having augmented the duty payable by Englishmen on exporting wine from Candia. You will answer him that the Act was not decreed for the convenience of our citizens, but from urgent necessity. The pirates were in the habit, under pretext of trade, with false flags and papers, of going to Candia for wine. On their way back

* *Calend. of State Papers, etc., Venice, Vol. I., No. 606.*

they captured and plundered our ships. Therefore the said Act was passed, the provisions of which did not apply solely to English ships and English subjects, as but few of the latter come into these seas, and they are at liberty to load the wines of Candia on board our vessels, like our subjects, whose condition in this respect is the same as theirs; we might have taken this step earlier for the advantage of our own ships of heavy tonnage, which have orders to extirpate not only pirates but to defend the Christian religion. This consideration alone, however, would not have moved us, had we not perceived that in the heart of our State, plots were laid against us and our citizens on the account aforesaid, no less detestable than irremediable, as is well known, we are sure, to His Majesty.

“Wherefore we beseech him (the King) not to demand what we cannot allow, for if we were to repeal this Act concerning the wines of Candia, or make a partial innovation for his subjects, we should be compelled to do the like by the subjects of other Kings and potentates also.

“Add that often, on account of pirates, and for the benefit of his subjects, His Majesty has deservedly made similar and even greater provisions than ours. On hearing our reasons, you giving assurance that henceforth we shall supply England with a greater quantity of the said wine than hitherto, we feel certain that His Majesty will remain satisfied.”*

* Calend. of State Papers, etc., Venice, Vol. I., No. 610. The instructions concluded as follows: “Make diligent inquiry whether there be any one of our subjects so rash and inconsiderate as to oppose our decrees. Should you discover or hear of anyone, give us special

notice of the fact, as we shall act by them in such wise as to afford example for all to abstain from similar presumption. Give notice of this order to the Consul, and to all our merchants and citizens for their information.

Neither Henry nor the Commons were satisfied by these arguments, and in the Parliament which met in the autumn of 1491, it was decreed that, since the English shipping and mariners which were wont to go to Candia for Malmseys had of late years been hampered in their trade by a new tax imposed on them by the Venetians, all Malmseys which would henceforth be imported into England by other than English-born subjects, should be taxed at the rate of 18s.* per butt, over and above all other customs and subsidies. It was, moreover, enacted that no butt of Malmsey be sold in this country above four pounds sterling:—

“To the Kyng our Sov’eyn’ Lord. Praien the Comens in this p’sent Parliament assembled that where of tyme that no mynd is, your Navie hath been mayntened passing the Streittes of Marrokys and so to div’s portes in those parties to the univ’sall increace of your seid Navye m’chaunt and maryners, and in especiall by ladyng of Malmeseys in the port of Candy, which pteyneth to the lordship of Venice. Wherenowe the Veniciens within thies two yere last past have made a statute and ordinaunce for thencreace of the seid lordship of Venice and mayntenance of theymselvf and their Navye and maryners, that noon of your seid Navye or maryners shuld lade in the seid porte of Candy any Malmeseys to be conveyed into this your realm of England, without that your seid marchaunts paye a newe custume for ev’y butte of Malmesey so laden iiii dokattis (ducats) of gold, which amounteth to 18s. sterling money or’ and above all other custumes and charges afore that tyme used, whiche is greate hurte to

* Equal to four ducata.

youre seid beseechers without speciall remedy be had by your noble and speciall grace. Please it. . . . to enacte and stablissh that from hensforth the Malmeseys that shalbe brought into this your realme of England by any p'son shalbe of full gauge conteyning six score and six gallons at the lest in mesure. And if it lacke of the seid gauge, that then the seller to abate somoche of the price after the rate of the seid content. And that ev'y m'chant straunger bringing suche Malmeseys into this realme shall pay to your grace the custumes of xviiiis. for a butte of Malmesey ov' and above the custume afore tyme to your grace used to be paid, likewise as they of Venice have sette in Candy uppon your aforeseid sugiettes. And moreov' that it be enacted and stablished by thauctorite aforsaid that no butte or buttes of Malmeseys in vessell or in vessells that shall be brought in to this your seid realme, shall be sold above four pounds sterling."

This new custom was not to be paid by English-born subjects and not to endure longer "than they of Venice shall sette aside the imposition of the payment of the iiij ducates aforeseid."*

Such a measure was naturally greatly resented in Venice, but representations remained fruitless; in 1492, the Senate sent the following letter to Lorenzo Pisani, the then Venetian Consul in London:—

"The Signory had understood from the merchants and owners of two ships which loaded wine in Candia that the King of England not only refused to take off the duty of 18s. per butt, but proclaimed

* 1491. Stat. 7 Hen. VII., cap. 7.

it at all his ports, with this, moreover, in addition—that those wines might not be sold for more than twenty-four crowns per butt. If this were enforced, it would be the ruin of the said merchants, at whose earnest petition the Doge and Senate command the Consul, in case he should be unable to obtain the repeal of the duty from the King, to order the masters of those ships, on their arrival in England, to go with all their wines to Zealand, as the duty was unbearable. The Consul, if unable to obtain the repeal within twenty days, was to charge the masters of the two ships, under pain of the Signory's displeasure, and loss of the entire freight and of the bounty of two ducats per butt, to depart immediately without landing any portion of the wines, taking them to Zealand and there disposing of them, as their freighters had originally meant them to do at Hampton. . . . Should the Venetian merchants in England in the meantime be able to arrange the matter by giving forty or fifty butts of the wine at the utmost, or a sum of money not to exceed their value, so that they may be landed free of the aforesaid duty, and be sold as usual, the Doge and the Senate authorise the compromise (provided the sum does not exceed the aforesaid amount) as it may prove less detrimental and inconvenient to the merchants in general and to the masters and partners in the ships; and as the majority of the owners of the said wine in Venice had agreed to pay the masters at the rate of a ducat per piece for freight to Zealand, the Doge and Senate choose that, as fair and fitting, the other merchants having wine on board do pay freight at the same rate. Finally, the Senate decrees that, on arrival of the two ships at Hampton, they are to be

considered entitled to the bounty of two ducats per butt.”*

During the following years, neither side being willing to reduce the special taxes levied at Candia on Englishmen, and in England on Venetians, the Malmsey trade was carried on under great difficulties, but the demand for this wine was so great that it continued to be imported.

In 1497, a great ship was freighted with no less than 2,000 butts by the Tepoli merchants for England, but foundered and was completely lost in the English Channel.†

In April, 1498, the Venetian Ambassadors in London wrote to the Senate, saying that they had obtained some slight concessions in favour of the Venetian merchants; they had again pressed the King to cancel the four ducats duty on Malmsey, but Henry VII. replied that if the Signory would take off the prohibition against Englishmen loading wines in Candia he would reduce the duty in England. The Ambassadors rejoined that the Signory had not made the prohibition against England, but because of the danger from Corsairs who came to Candia. This argument failed to convince the King, who said that he would consider the matter; the next day, to show his goodwill, Henry granted a diminution of 100 ducats in favour of the ship *Pandora*, belonging to the Pisani firm, which had already gone to Candia to fetch wines.‡

The Venetian Senate yielded at last, in 1499, and cancelled the duty which they had imposed a few

* Brown, *Calend. of State Papers*, Venice, Vol. I., pp. 214, 215. No. 627.

† *Idem*, Vol. I., Nos. 742, 766a.

‡ *Idem*, Vol. I., Nos. 764, 765.

years previously on all wines shipped from Candia in English bottoms. They wrote to their Consul in London, asking him to announce their decision to Henry and to obtain the promised repeal of the special tax on Malmseys brought to England by Venetian merchants. To their great astonishment and disgust, they received the following answer from Andrea Bragadin, Venetian Consul in London, dated June 8th, 1499 :—

“ I have received your letters concerning the repeal of the four ducats duty per butt, on wine loaded by foreign vessels in Candia, and desiring me to request the King of England, in like manner, to take off the duty of four crowns per butt on the wine imported into England from Candia. I went, therefore, accompanied by the merchants, to the King and acquainted him with the whole. He replied that he neither would nor could, as at present his subjects no longer care to go and load wine, it sufficing to say that, whereas of yore they paid £8 18s. per butt, the present price is only £6 8s., so that it is not possible to repeal this duty.”*

This answer was not very honourable, since Henry had formally promised to repeal this duty, but it was expedient, as the Venetians were then in great difficulties in the Mediterranean and unable to retaliate.

The trade from Candia to England was still very active, but it became more profitable for the Italians to carry Malmseys in English or other ships than in Venetian vessels, and this is the course most of them adopted.

* Brown, *Calend. of State Papers*, Venice, Vol. I., No. 798, p. 285.

In 1499, the Pesari merchants imported on one occasion 500 butts and the Tiepoli merchants 600 butts of Malmseys, being permitted by the Senate of Venice to ship this wine in any foreign ships available, Ragusan vessels excepted, forfeiting, however, the bounty of two ducats per butt as paid to Venetian ships.*

Henry VII. was soon after induced to reduce the additional tax of 18s. per butt of Malmsey brought in Venetian vessels to one noble (about 7s.) per butt, a concession which did not satisfy the Republic, who claimed an absolute equality of duties with all other importers.

During the following five years, however, the Venetian Senate refrained from levying any additional tax on English vessels loading Malmseys in Candia and even refused to sanction a motion of some Senators who wished, in 1503, to threaten England with setting up a wine monopoly in Candia, if Venetian vessels were still made to pay an extra duty in England.†

In 1511, and again in 1514, licences were granted to Piero da Cha da Pesaro to hire foreign ships and to load in Candia 500 butts of wine, his property and that of others, in such name as shall seem fit to him, the Acts passed to the contrary notwithstanding.‡ The last clause was evidently meant to allow

* Brown, *Calend. of State Papers*, Venice, Vol. I., p. 288, No. 806.

† *Idem*, Vol. I., No. 832, p. 298. March 19th, 1503. Motion made by Marius Sanuto and others, in the Senate, for a letter to be written to the Venetian Consul in London, desiring him to tell King Henry to repeal the duty of a noble per butt on the wines, the Signory having

taken off the four ducats per butt levied on foreign bottoms loading in Candia, and that in case of refusal the Republic would organise her wine staple in Candia. This motion was, however, defeated in the Senate.

‡ *Idem*, Vol. II., No. 102, p. 45, May 5th, 1511; and Vol. II., No. 522, p. 214, December 7th, 1514.

the Italian to ship his wines under the name of an English merchant, and thus save trouble and money on arrival in England.

Time after time, in 1515, 1516, 1517, and subsequent years, the Venetians wrote to the King of England and sent special Ambassadors to urge the complete repeal of the additional duty which Henry VII. had promised to take off, but his son replied, on each occasion, that he found the duty lucrative and meant to retain it.*

Henry VIII. was all the more reluctant to grant the Venetians what they termed their just demands, that he had no reason to encourage their mercantile marine, and Malmsey was still brought to England in great plenty by Ragusan† and other vessels.

The "Flanders galleys" of the Venetians, which traded between the Levant, Italy, England and Flanders, still brought Malmsey, as well as Spanish wine, to England every year. According to the decrees of the Venetian Senate, enacted in 1516, for the regulation of the western maritime commerce of the Republic, it was stipulated that, after touching at Messina and Palermo, the galleys would not remain longer than six days at Cadiz, and stop at no other port until Southampton was reached. At Cadiz the master of the ship was not to allow more than half the crew to go on shore at the same time, to provide themselves with wine, according to their custom.‡

The efforts made by the Venetian Ambassadors in London, between 1516 and 1519, to obtain the

* Brown, *Calend. of State Papers*, Venice, Vol. II., Nos. 604, 605, 842.

† *Idem*, No. 629, June 15th, 1515.

‡ *Idem*, p. 364.

repeal of the duty levied on the wines brought by their compatriots, are interesting as illustrating in no common degree the policy and character of Wolsey.

The subject was placed before the Cardinal on February 24th, 1516, by the Ambassadors, who were asked to come again about it on March 8th. On the appointed day it was arranged that the matter would be fully discussed a fortnight hence; but, exactly twelve months later, nothing had yet been done, and one of the Ambassadors, having met Wolsey at some official dinner, in March, 1517, drew him aside and told him it was really time this affair of the duties should be settled. The cautious Cardinal, however, answered that he would see to it as soon as ever the pressure of State business became less exacting. The Ambassador had an audience with Wolsey the following week, but could only obtain his promise to "look into the matter." Again, the following week, the indefatigable Ambassador goes and urges his claim, but has again to be satisfied with the promise that it would be brought before the Council. Calls after calls have no effect; in June, the Cardinal pleads illness; in July, he consents to apologise for the delay, saying that he must have legal advice, but will have the matter settled after Michaelmas; but nothing was settled after Michaelmas, nor even a year later, the Ambassador failing to obtain anything more than a "gracious" reception from the Cardinal in November, 1518. In February, 1519, the question was brought before the Council, and unfavourably received there, although Wolsey assured the Venetians that things would soon be put right. A few days later, however, the Cardinal changed his tactics and expressed surprise that the Signory should insist on

diminishing the customs of the King, as inherited from his father, who had reduced the duty from four ducats to one noble, equal to one and a half ducat, and said that the Signory ought to be content with this reduction. The Ambassador replied that the Signory took off the duty of four ducats per butt in Candia, under promise of King Henry VII. that he would repeal the corresponding duty in England. The Cardinal rejoined that the duties were the sole benefit derived from the Malmseys imported into England ; that the Government would rather the wines should not come than lose the duties, and that Venice derived greater benefit from what she exported from England than accrued to the English Government. These and other arguments were accompanied with certain uncivil language concerning the Venetian Republic. The Ambassador then asked if this was his definite decision, to which the Cardinal answered in the negative, saying that in a matter of that sort it was fitting to have more mature consideration, after which he would give an answer, in conjunction with the Council.

In his report of the transaction, the Venetian Ambassador remarks that it would be useless to appeal to the King, as the Cardinal was all powerful ; that it would be the surest means of making an irreconcilable enemy of him, and prove the ruin of the poor merchants.*

In April, 1522, Wolsey complained that the

* For the whole of this business, see the text of letters and despatches, in Brown, *Calend. of State Papers*, etc., Venice, Vol. II., Nos. 691, 695, 855, 859, 866, 879, 908, 934, 1111, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1211, 1244, 1259, 1287. In September, 1519, Sebas-

tian Giustinian wrote to Venice saying that Wolsey was very anxious for the Signory to send him 100 Damascene carpets, adding that he believed this present would easily settle the affair of the wines of Candia.

Venetian galleys came to England empty, and yet he protested at the same time against the alleged smaller size of the butts of wine they brought.* In June of the same year, a ship of Mafio Bernardo, with a full cargo of wine, was forced to land it at Southampton in order that customs be collected, although its destination was different.† These and other such vexatious proceedings gradually forced most of the Venetian merchants to give up coming to England; as, on the other hand, the Mediterranean voyage was far too long and costly for many English merchants to undertake, the Levant wine trade became less and less active during the greater part of Henry VIII.'s reign.

Thus, whilst we find numerous mentions of Malmsey bought and sold in different parts of England, in London, at Cambridge, Oxford, Canterbury, Hickling, Hulme, Wymondham, Hunstanton, Bardney, St. Osyth, etc., during the earlier part of the sixteenth century, such mentions become very scarce between 1525 and 1550.‡

A revival of that branch of the wine trade appears to have taken place in England after 1550, and during the reign of Queen Mary, when wine was imported from Candia, not always under the name of Malmsey or Malvesey, but as *Vinum Creticum*, wine of Crete, numerous mentions of which are to be found in the accounts of the Oxford Corporation and Colleges.

* Brown, Calend. of State Papers, Venice, Vol. III., No. 440.

† *Idem*, No. 483.

‡ See Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III. Malmsey,

however, was bought by the Earl of Rutland, in 1541, at Lincoln; in 1542, at Newark; and in 1543, in London. Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., pp. 320, 340.

During the first Parliament of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the following Statute concerning the importation and taxation of Malmseys and wines coming from the Levant received the royal sanction:—

“ And where of late years there has been much greater quantity of sweet wine brought into the realm than in time past has been accustomed, which be brought from the same place where the wine commonly called Malveseye is brought, and is of the same nature of grape, and nevertheless by negligence, ignorance or corruption of the officers, there has not been such custom and subsidy received for the same to those of your Highness and your Progenitors, as is due and ought of very right to be paid for such sweet wine coming through the straits commonly called the Strait of *Marrok*, otherwise *Mallegaye*, to the great loss and hinderance of your Highness, and the burthen of us, your loving subjects; for the avoiding of all ambiguities and doubts, and to the intent the officers may more certainly know what they ought to receive for such kind and nature of merchandise. Be it enacted and declared by this present Act, and by the authority aforesaid, that like custom and subsidy is of very right to be paid and shall from henceforth be paid for such sweet wine as is aforesaid, as is and has been accustomed to be paid for Malveseye; any negligence, non-payment, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.”*

In 1570, it was enacted in Parliament, “ that, henceforth, all wines of the growths of Candia and Rotimo,† or any other place within the Levant seas,

* Statutes of the Realm, 1 Eliz., cap. 11.

† Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, James I., Vol. XLIII., No. 51.

imported to England by merchant strangers, should be landed at Southampton, and not elsewhere, upon forfeiture of 20s. a butt, half to the use of the Queen and the other half to the Mayor and bailiffs of Southampton for the maintenance of the walls, seabanks, etc.”* The revival of this arbitrary measure was very distasteful to the Venetian merchants.

During that same year, a Venetian ship, laden with wine, was captured on her way to England by some French Huguenots.† In 1575, one of the great Venetian argosies was wrecked off the Isle of Wight.‡

Such losses at sea, together with the unceremonious treatment they received in England, caused many Venetian merchants to abandon commercial relations with England. This fact obliged individual action on the part of the English merchants of the day, whose resources were then more fully developed, and whose enterprise was greater than formerly, to combine and form themselves into a company for carrying out successfully the Levant trade.

Previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Englishmen going to the Levant were few in number, and their voyages were undertaken at the risk of wealthy and bold individuals. We hear of certain “tall ships,” belonging to London, Bristol, or Southampton, which made voyages to the East, trading with Sicily, Crete, Chios, and sometimes with Cyprus, Tripoli and Beyrout, in Syria, during the first half of the sixteenth century; but there appears to have been no systematic commerce carried on in English

* Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, Addenda, James I., Vol. XLIII., No. 51.

† Brown, Calend. of State Papers, Venice, Vol. VII., No. 467.

‡ J. Theodore Bent, *Early Voyages and Travels to the Levant*, 1893. Introduction.

bottoms in those days, most of the trade between the Levant and England being conducted by the Venetians. So far back as 1513, there was an English Consul stationed at Chios;* in 1516, the English merchants trading with Chios complained of the charges they were made to pay by the Genoese in that island,† and, in 1534, we read of an exciting voyage made by the *Holy Cross* and the *Matthew Gonson* to Crete and Chios, both ships coming back much the worse for wear.

In 1550, Captain Bodenham "with the great barke *Aucher*" went to Chios, and three years later Anthony Jenkinson went to Aleppo, where he obtained trading privileges, which may be regarded as the beginning of the English Levant Company.‡ This company, however, only received its charters and privileges from Queen Elizabeth, but its progress was very rapid, and practically the whole of the Levant wine trade with England had passed under its control before the end of the sixteenth century.

In 1586, a charter was granted to fifty-three individuals to whom power was granted to trade in the Levant, and, in 1587, a special clause was added to the covenant between the Earl of Leicester and the merchants trading to Venice and Candia, relative to the importation of wines.§

A few years previously, in 1582 and 1583, letters patent had been granted by the Queen to English

* Hakluyt, Voyages, Vol. II., p. 98.

† Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., No. 3289. The Council of Genoa wrote to Henry VIII., saying that the charges complained of by English merchants as imposed on them at Chios, were the only means of raising revenue to pay a debt of 120,000 ducats

incurred to propitiate the Turk to whom they were compelled to pay an annual tribute. May 26th, 1517.

‡ J. Theodore Bent, Early Voyages and Travels to the Levant. Introduction, pp. v, vi, ix.

§ R. Lemon, Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1581-1591, p. 399.

merchants, to whom was given the monopoly of the importation of sweet wines from Venice and Candia into England, during a term of six years.*

Besides Malmseys, the principal wines imported into England from parts "beyond the Straits of Marroco," were Romaney, Muscadine, Muscadell, Vernage and Tyre.

Romaney or Romeneye may be described as an inferior kind of Malmsey, and, as far back as 1353, the London municipal authorities had made it an offence to sell Romeney for Malmsey.† The sweetish wine of poor quality made at Corcyra, Cephalonia and Zante was known in Italy as Romania,‡ and was exported by the Venetians in large quantities, whilst the best wines made in these islands and many other isles of the Ionian and of the Augean Seas were sold as Malmsey.‡

In England, the price of Romaney, Bastard and Muscadell was usually the same as that of Malmsey, and these wines were, as a rule, imported at the same time and mentioned together in the various decrees fixing the price or regulating the sale of sweet wine in this country.§

It is difficult to ascertain with any precision the nature and origin of a wine called Tyre, but we may presume that it was a sweet wine shipped from some

* R. Lemon, *Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series*, pp. 76, 105, 640 (April, 1583-April, 1589).

† *History of the Wine Trade in England*, Vol. I., p. 213.

‡ Bacci, *Lib. VII. Ancient customs and new imposts of Zante, Cephalonia and Candia on wines there and in England, etc.* See also R. Lemon, *Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1581-1591, p. 640.

§ See *Rot. Parl.*, Vol. IV., p. 90,

col. 1., A.D. 1415; Vol. IV., p. 126. col. 2., A.D. 1420; Vol. IV., p. 361. col. 1., A.D. 1429. *Calend. of Doc. relating to Scotland*, Vol. IV., p. 198, A.D. 1424. *Collection of Ordin. for the Government of the Royal Household*, p. 101. A.D. 1469; *Letter Book I*, fo. 76b. A.D. 1409; fo. 96b. A.D. 1410; fo. 133, A.D. 1414. Stat. 34 and 35 Hen. VIII., cap. 7, A.D. 1542-1543. etc.

of the islands off the coast of Italy, in the Tyrrhenian Sea, such as Capri and Ischia.

A barrel of Tyre was bought by James I., King of the Scots, in 1424,* and, during that same year, the Corporation of Norwich bought some Tyre at 10d. a gallon, and again, in 1476 and 1481, at 1s. 4d. per gallon;† this was also the price it fetched at Cambridge, in 1445 and 1447.†

In 1465, fifty-eight pipes of *Tyre* were imported by an Italian.‡ Tyre is mentioned at Canterbury, in 1450;§ in 1462, a gallon of Tyre was given to Lord Cromwell, at Lynn.||

The *vin cuit*, of which one cask was imported, in 1415, by a Piemontese,¶ was most probably the same as the *vinum coctum*, referred to by Bacci, who says that it was exceedingly common in Italy and that it was obtained by gradually heating the new wine.**

Vernaccia wine, or *Vernage*, practically ceased to be imported into England, although Bacci praises its beautiful red colour and its exquisite taste, adding that it was not too sweet and had a beautiful aroma.†† Croce calls Vernage the native Malvasia of Italy.‡‡ *Muscadell*, on the other hand, was held in great estimation and usually fetched higher prices than any other sort of sweet wine. It was a wine made

* Calend. of Doc. relating to Scotland, Vol. IV., p. 198.

† Thorold Rogers, History of Agriculture, Vol. III., p. 511.

‡ Calend. Patent Rolls, 5 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 29.

§ Records of the City of Canterbury, Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part I., p. 140.

|| Lynn MSS., Eleventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part III., p. 224.

¶ Rot. Parl., Vol. IV., p. 90, col. 1.

** Bacci, De Nat. Vin. Hist., Lib. I., cap. xv.

†† *Idem*, Lib. II., cap. iv.

‡‡ G. B. Croce, Della Eccellenza dei Vini, etc. Torino, 1906.

from the Muscat grape grown in Candia,* as well as in Italy,† Southern France,‡ and Spain.

In London, the assize price of Muscadell, in 1513, was 16d. per gallon when that of other sweet wines was only 12d.;§ at Winterton, in 1433, the barrel of Muscadell cost 50s., the same price as Malmsey and Romaney;|| in London, the gallon of Muscadell cost 2s., as also at Norwich, in 1541 and again in 1561, when Bastard only cost 1s. and Malmsey or Sack 1s. 8d. At Oxford, in 1564, 1565, and 1568, Muscadine cost 2s. 8d. per gallon; in 1573, it cost as much as 3s. 4d. At Cambridge, in 1579, and in 1581, Muscadell cost 3s. and 3s. 4d. per gallon.

In 1542, a rundlet of Muscadine was sent to Lady Rutland, from Grantham.¶ In 1586, the churchwardens of Mendlesham, in Suffolk, bought some Muscadine.**

There are a few other names of wines imported into England which are very obscure, such as *Campelyte*,†† which may have been an Italian wine shipped from Campiglia, in Tuscany; Greek wine,‡‡ some of which was sent to Belvoir Castle in 1600,§§ but which was probably an Italian wine and not the produce of Greece; and *Tente*, mentioned for the first time at Galway, in 1578.||||

* R. Lemon, *Calend. of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1581-1591, p. 423.

† G. B. Croce, in his treatise on the wines of Torino gives some very interesting details about White Muscatel, Vernage, Malmsey, etc.

‡ Bacci, *De Nat. Vin. Hist.* Lib. VI., cap. i.

§ Letter Book M, fo. 219b. In 1571, the price of Muscadell was 16d. per gallon, that of Sack 13d., and Malmsey 14d. Letter Book X, fo. 192.

|| Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, Vol. III., p. 510.

¶ Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 324.

** Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 593.

†† *Calend. Patent Rolls*, 20 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 10d., A.D. 1481.

‡‡ J. Pegge, *Forme of Cury*, No. 20, No. 132.

§§ Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 428.

|||| Archives of Galway, fo. 85, in the Tenth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part V., No. 428.

As to the wines of Corsica and Diana, mentioned in the Guildhall Letter Books as forming part of the stock of wines in the City taverns,* it seems difficult to believe that such large quantities as those recorded should have been imported into England at that time, although, of course, vines were then grown and wine made in Corsica.†

* Letter Book Y, fos. 191b, 281b, 282. | † Bacci, De Nat. Vin. Hist. Lib. VI., cap. i.

CHAPTER XI.

DISTILLATION, taken in its most comprehensive sense, was known to the Ancients who distilled sea water and the juice of different plants and roots. But the process of distillation does not appear to have been applied to wine before the twelfth century, when Arnaud de Villeneuve, who does not claim to be its discoverer, left us the following description of distilled wine: "Some people call it *Eau de Vie*, and this name is remarkably suitable, since it is really a water of immortality. Its virtues are beginning to be recognised, it prolongs life, clears away ill-humours, revives the heart and maintains youth, etc." The early distillers were so much impressed with the marvellous qualities of distilled wine that they imagined it contained some attributes of the fire which had helped to make it. They distilled it very slowly, on heated sand, and endeavoured to let the contact between the liquid and the heat be as long as possible, thinking that this was the surest means of obtaining a more fiery liquor.

During the fourteenth century, much progress had been made in the distillation of wine, and its use was well known in France as well as in Germany, although there is no mention of it at so early a date, in England.

In 1307, an entry in the account book of the Comtesse Mahaut reads thus : " For wine bought by Girard to make burning water of, for our daughter, ten sous, ten deniers."*

In 1358, in his *Pratica Alchimica*, Ortholaus gives very exact directions for the distillation of wine and for rectifying the alcohol obtained at first.

From the publication, at Augsburg, in 1483, of a treatise by Michel Schreik, *Verzeichniss der ausgebranden Wasser*, and, at Bamberg, in 1493, of a poem on the subject of the advantages and disadvantages of this liquor, it is evident that, in Germany, the use of spirits was at this date no longer restricted to medicinal purposes.†

In 1496, the municipality of Nuremberg was already taking measures to check the excessive consumption of alcohol, a decree issued then forbidding the sale of " distilled waters " on Sundays and other holidays, in private houses, as well as by druggists and other merchants, in their shops, on the market, in the street or elsewhere, so as to put a stop to their abuse and excessive consumption.‡

Lieven Lemnius, a Hollander, bestows loud praises on aqua vitæ in his *Secrets of Nature*, written in the first half of the sixteenth century. " No liquor," he says, " which is ministered unto any use to man's body, is either lighter or more piercing, or more preserveth and defendeth all things from corruption," and this writer gives an early record

* " Pour vin que mestre Girard avoit acheté pour faire iaue ardente pour no[tre] demoiselle," p. 227.

† Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, Vol. IV., p. 158.

‡ B. Reber, *Histoire de la Médecine et des Sciences naturelles. Journal des Collectionneurs de Genève*, No. 31.

of excess in spirituous liquors where he states that "the use of aqua vitæ hath grown so common with the nether Germany and Flanders, that freelier than is profitable to health, they take and drink of it."*

The virtues of aqua vitæ do not appear, however, to have been appreciated in England before the sixteenth century. Some knowledge of the art of distilling wine may have been brought to this country by Raymond Lulli, during the reign of Edward III. The inventor of the Universal Art had great faith in "the marvaylous use and comoditie of burning water even in warres, a little before the joining of batayle, to styr and encourage the souldiours, myndes."† But no record has been found to show that spirit, under any name whatsoever, was consumed in England before the sixteenth century, although it was known and freely indulged in, in Ireland, at a considerably earlier date.

In 1525, a translation of Jerome Braunschweig's important work on distillation was published in London, under the title of *The Vertuose Boke of Distyllacyon of the Waters of all maner of Herbes*, "for the help and profit of surgeons, physicians, pothecaries, and all manner of people."

This appears to have been the earliest important publication, in this country, to render the science of distillation more general and more popular. The *Vertuose Boke* bestowed great praises on aqua vitæ, the use of which was, however, only recommended as a medicine, at certain times and in small quantities.

* A History of Taxation and Taxes in England from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885, by Stephen Dowell, Vol. IV., p. 158. Baker,

Jewell of Health, A.D. 1576. Chapter on Aqua Vitæ, p. 214.

† Morwyng, Treasure of Evonymous, 1559, p. 16.

“Aqua vitæ,” quoting from the *Vertuose Boke*, “is commonly called the mistress of all medicines, for it easeth the diseases coming from cold. It giveth also young courage in a person, and causeth him to have a good memory and remembrance. It purifieth the five wits of melancholy and of all uncleanness, when it is drunk by reason and measure; that is to understand five or six drops in the morning, fasting, with a spoonful of wine It comforteth the heart and causeth a body to be merry . . .” etc.

In 1559, when Peter Morwyng published his *Treasure of Evonymous*, wine was no longer distilled solely by apothecaries for medicinal purposes; there were already a certain number of “distillers” in London, whose trade consisted in distilling alcohol from wine-lees and unsound wine obtained at very low prices from vintners and coopers. No blame appears to have been attached to this practice, and Morwyng does not doubt that the spirit obtained from either bad or good wine is equally good.

“Burning water, or aqua vitæ, is drawn oute of wyne, but wyth us out of the wyne lies (lees) onely, specially of them that sel it, and by this onely almost get their livyng. And peradventure it is never a whit the worse that it is drawne oute of lees; for Lullus teacheth that it may be wel destilled of corrupt wine; yea, if it be distilled often it shal be made the more effectuell (that is to say) hotter and drier . . .”*

The most remarkable and varied qualities are attributed to aqua vitæ, the virtues and excellence

* A New Booke of Destillatyon of Waters, called the Treasure of | Evonymous, translated by Peter Morwyng. 1559, pp. 76, 77.

of which, in health and sickness alike, are to us more than surprising.

“It helpeth read and duskish eies. It is good for them that have the falling sickness if they drink it. It cureth the palsy if they be onoynted therewith. It sharpneth the wit, it restoreth memori. It maketh men merry and preserveth youth. It putteth away fracins, ring worms and all spots of the face, etc. It is merveyulous profitable for frantic men and such as be melancholy. It expelleth poyson. The smell thereof burnt, killeth flies and cold creeping beasts. It restoreth wine that is turned or putrified. . . .

“It is most wholesome for the stomake, the harte and the liver; it nourisheth blood; it agreeth mervelously and most with man’s nature . . . Yea, it chaungeth the affectione of the mind; it taketh away sadness—pensiveness; it maketh men merit, witty, and encreaseth audacitie. . . .

“To conclude, it bringeth a good smell and taste also to any wine, be it never so evil or corrupt, and good wine also it makes it better. . . .”*

The rapidity with which the popularity of the crude, home-made spirit spread in England is evidenced by the numerous editions of the works on distillation, two editions of the *Treasure of Evonymous* having been printed in 1559. A little later, in 1576, another work on the same subject achieved a very rapid success; it was called the *Newe Jewell of Health*, and was translated and published by George Baker from Conrad Gesner’s book on distillation.

* *Treasure of Evonymous*, pp. 83, 84, 85, 88.

In 1572, there was a tavern in Petie Wales, Barking, known as *Le Aqua Vite Howse*.*

In the *Jewell of Health*, we read that good wine was *sometimes* used for distillation, but this process was considered very wasteful.

“The burning water, or water of life, is sometimes distilled out of pleasant and good wine, as the whyte or the red, but oftener drawn out of the wine lees, of a certain eager savour or corrupt wyne.

“Further, when out of pure wine a water of life is distilled, I hear (says C. Gesner) that out of a great quantity of good wine, a little yeld or quantity of burning water is to be distilled ; but out of the lees of wine, a much [greater] yeld and quantity [is] gathered ; and out of wine Alsatico, is not so commendable an aqua vitæ distilled.”†

It was not, however, before the reign of Elizabeth and the expedition to the Low Countries in 1585, that the taste for strong alcoholic beverages became prevalent amongst the lower classes who had been, up to that time, satisfied with ale and beer, since the rise in the price of wine had forced them to give up drinking the juice of the grape.

Montaigne, in his *Essais sur les Mœurs*, published in 1588, observes that the only nation in which drinking to excess was considered laudable was that of the Almaines ; the Hollander was, perhaps, in drinking power equal to the German. “The Dutchman for a drunkard,” was a proverb in the sixteenth century ; and when English soldiers returned from the campaign in the Netherlands, in the time of Elizabeth, they brought with them a taste for spirituous drinks

* Chronological Index to the | † Baker, *Jewell of Health*, pp.
Hustings Deeds, No. 257, m. 42. | 211, 212.

developed by communication with that nation of potent drinkers. Henceforth, a supply of *aqua vitæ* was kept up through Flushing, which was held as security for the money advanced to the Dutch, as well as directly from France, where the best was made.

“In their endeavours to meet the increasing demand for cheaper spirits, our distillers now commenced to use in lieu of wine and wine lees, hog’s wash and such articles for making *aqua vitæ*, and they continued to do so until 1593, the year of the plague. In former ages it had been usual to attribute a visitation of the plague to the Jews, who were said to have poisoned the wells, or, indeed, to any source other than that filth of the people and their dwellings which fostered it. On this occasion the distillers were accused of having, in effect, poisoned the *aqua vitæ* that was frequently used as an antidote. Accordingly, they were ‘rectified,’ as it was termed, under a patent, granted to Drake, for a monopoly of the sale of spirits, but this patent was subsequently abolished with the other monopolies, by the Queen, in 1601, and Cecil, on announcing the abolition to the House of Commons in a humorous speech, congratulated those who had cold stomachs on the liberty they had acquired of free indulgence in *aqua vitæ*, *aqua composita*, and other waters.”*

The *aqua composita* mentioned in this speech was an old favourite, described in 1527, in the *Virtuose Boke*, as made of strong wine without lees, and spices, or herbs, or roots, or all of these combined. It must have been, therefore, a kind of strong aromatical liquor of the kind of gin or other flavoured spirit.

* A History of Taxation and Taxes in England, from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885, by Stephen Dowell, 1888, Vol. IV., pp. 158, 160.

The more general use of distillation and the gradual improvement in the methods of distilling, opened the way to an almost unlimited number of new liqueurs, made up of spirit, wine, and spices, or of distilled wine and aromatical plants, roots or seeds. In Baker's *Jewell of Health*, these concoctions are qualified of *laudable, comfortable, commendable* and *singular cordial wyne*, and the use of borrag, endives, ginger, long pepper, sage, galingale, cloves, fennell, nutmeg, etc., is advocated. The use of these *cordial wines* was strongly recommended in most peculiar instances; thus, if a man be "wholly mad," they might bring him back to reason; they also dispelled evil thoughts and prevented all "evyl cogitations comming to minde"; more wonderful still, they are said to have restored the sight of blind people, and they "strengtheneth any weake member of man's body," etc.*

Some of these spirituous liquors were also made with the addition of sugar, like the *crème de menthe* and *curaçao* of the present day; one of the most fascinating of these was called *spiritus dulcis*, and was made of Sack, spirit of roses, and sugar candy.†

Other cordial or aromatised wines, either with or without the addition of spirit, were drunk before meals, as we now use bitters, to provoke appetite. Such was the *Vinum Raspoticum*, or *Rappis*, described by Morwyng as follows: "Raspish wyne, that is whych biteth the tong with a certayn sharp biting, it provoketh appetite, bindyng the heates of the

* Baker, *Jewell of Health*, pp. 256, 257.

† The MSS. of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, at Syon

House, in the Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., p. 229, February 6th, 1608.

stomack." Further on he adds: "Some put spices also to the raspish wyne, as galangal, five ounces, cinamon, cloves, of either two drachms," etc.*

Even the much maligned absinthe, or something very much like it, was known in England during the sixteenth century, being made up of dried leaves of wormwood in equal parts of Malmsey and "burning water thrice distilled."†

Aromatical wines were made in great variety, either with spices alone or with spices and honey or sugar.

Two of the latter, hippocras and clarre, enjoyed a very ancient‡ and solid reputation, but their popularity seems to have suffered during the sixteenth century from the introduction of many new varieties. In 1522, hippocras was given as a present at Cambridge.§ In 1537, at the christening of Prince Edward, everyone in the church was served with hippocras and sweet wine;|| and, in 1546, we read in the Rutland MSS., Anthony Digby paid 6s. 8d. "for ypocras when my Lorde was syke."¶

The *Ressuite to make Ypocras*, according to Arnold's Chronicle, was as follows:—"For a galon and a pynt of red wyn, take synamon iii uncis, gynger dried an unce, greynes and longe peper di unce, cloues and masys, a q'rt of an unce, spignard a quatir of an unce, suger ii lb."**

Clarre was made as follows:—"For xviii

* Morwyng, *Treasure of Evonymous*, pp. 390, 392.

† *Idem*, p. 386.

‡ See *History of the Wine Trade in England*, Vol. I.

§ Grace Book B, Part II., p. 108, edited by Mary Bateson for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

|| Gairdner, *Henry VIII.*, Part II., No. 911.

¶ Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 340, November, 38 Hen. VIII.

** The Customs of London, otherwise called Arnold's Chronicle, etc., p. 187.

galons, synamon, di a pute gynger, q'rt of a lb. pepir, a q'rt of a lb. greynes, an unce safron, a quatir of an unce colyaundir, ii unce calamosse aromaticus."

The directions for making either of these beverages are also given :—

The Crafte to make Ypocras and Braket and Clare* :—"Take a quart of red wine, an ounce of cinnamon, and a half an ounce of ginger, and a quarter of an ounce of greynes, and half a pound of sugar, and bruise all these not too small, and then put them in a bag of woollen cloth made for it, with the wine, and let it hang over a vessell till the wine has run through. And after thou mayest break the spices smaller and put new wine thereto, and make more with the same stuff, but it cannot be so good as the first," etc.†

Not satisfied with giving detailed directions how to concoct liqueurs and cordials which, to our modern taste, must have been abominable, the old doctors who wrote these early books on distillation, and who knew probably as little about wine as the average doctor of the present time, ventured to direct their readers how to make all sorts of wines, to imitate foreign wines, with the help of "burning water" and spices. The only redeeming point of these recipes is that they are usually so difficult to understand or execute that they could not have been largely patronised. The directions to make Malmsey are the most incomprehensible, whilst those for the manufacture of Rhenish, which are by far the most lucid, are as follows :—

"*A wyne that tasteth lyke Rhenish wyne.* In a vessell of glass or of earth glased, hange a linnen cloth full of

* *Braket* was made with ale, honey and pepper.

† Arnold's Chronicle, p. 187.

the spices hereafter folowyng, and fill it with burning water, stop it diligently, and let it stande at the lest xii houres. When thou wouldest use it, wring out ye linnen cloth into some gret glas, whiche the wyne shal be powered into afterward, so that the sydes of the pot may be wet with that spiced burning water or else ye liquor crushed out into the bottom by lening and rooling ye glas a syde, may moyste the sydes everywhere. Then power in the wyne, which shall have the taste of Rhenish. The spices are thies :— Cinamon, ginger, cloves, of every one half a dram when they are sumwhat gros beaten let them be mixt and after be tied in the linnen cloth.”*

* Treasure of Evonymous, p. 405.

APPENDIX A.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND
XVITH CENTURIES.

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
1401	94 gallons	s. d. - 8	£ s. d. - -	Wine - -	Oxford	{ Thorold Rogers, History of Agri- culture, Vol. III.
"	3½ "	- 6	- -	" - -	"	
1405	8½ "	- 9	- -	" - -	Bexley	
"	2½ "	- 10	- -	" - -	"	
"	3 casks, 16½ gallons	-	9 2 7	Red wine -	Warwick	"
"	1 hogshead, 53 gallons, 3 quarts	-	7 7 0	White wine -	"	"
"	6 gallons	2 8	- -	Vernage -	"	"
"	22 "	1 0	- -	Osey - -	"	"
"	33 "	- 8	- -	Vinegar -	"	"
"	1 hogshead	-	9 6 8	Wine - -	Beverley	Beverley MSS. p. 157.
1406	51 gallons	- 9	- -	" - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	33 "	1 2	- -	" - -	"	"
"	6 pipes	-	9 13 4	Red and white wine.	Salisbury	"
"	6 gallons	1 4	- -	Sweet wine -	"	"
1408	101 "	- 6	- -	Wine - -	Oxford	"
1409	Assize price	- 6	- -	Gascony and Rochelle wines	London	Letter Book I, fo. 76b.
"	"	- 7	- -	Oseye - -	"	"
"	"	1 0	- -	Malmsey, Romeney, Bastard.	"	"
"	87 gallons	- 8	- -	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1410	Assize price	1 0	-	Sweet wines -	London	Letter Book I, fo. 96b.
"	2 gallons	- 8	-	Wine - -	Cambridge	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	34½ "	- 5	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	55 "	- 6	-	" - -	"	"
1411	79 "	- 6	-	" - -	"	"
"	1 pipe	-	7 10 0	" - -	"	"
1412	96 pipes	-	4 0 0	Wine of Algarves (Portugal).	London	Devon, "Issues of the Exchequer," pp. 328, 329.
1413	82 gallons	- 6	-	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1414	Assize price	- 6	-	Gascony or Rochelle	London	Letter Book I, fo. 133.
"	"	- 10	-	Oseye - -	"	"
"	"	1 0	-	Malmsey, Romeney, Bastard	"	"
"	7 gallons	- 6	-	Wine - -	Cambridge	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	1½ "	1 4	-	Romeney -	"	"
"	1 "	1 0	-	Ossey - -	"	"
"	14 "	- 5	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	40½ "	- 6	-	" - -	"	"
"	38½ "	- 4	-	" - -	"	"
1416	Assize price	- 7	-	Gascony or Rochelle	London	Letter Book I, fo. 185b.
1417	2 pipes	-	5 13 4	Wine - -	Norwich	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1418	4 gallons	- 10	-	" - -	"	"
"	92½ "	- 8	-	" - -	Oxford	"
1419	Assize price	- 6	-	Romeney -	London	Letter Book I, fo. 227.
1420	47½ gallons	- 5	-	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1420	18 gallons	- 6	-	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1421	2 tuns	-	3 0 0	" - -	Exeter	Rem. Antiq. of the City of Exeter.
"	2 gallons	1 0	-	" - -	York	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1422	Assize price	- 6	-	Gascony or Rochelle	London	Letter Book K, fo. 10b.
"	"	1 0	-	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	4 gallons	- 4	-	Wine - -	Ottertton	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1424	32 "	- 8	-	Red wine -	Bicester	"
"	32 "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	3 "	1 5½	-	"	Cambridge	"
"	4 "	- 8	-	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	15½ "	- 10	-	Red wine and Bastard	"	"
"	6½ "	- 10	-	Red wine and Tyre	"	"
"	3 "	- 6	-	Wine - -	Ottertton	"
"	60 "	- 5½	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	22½ "	- 5	-	" - -	"	"
1425	1 pipe	-	5 6 8	Red wine -	Chichester	"
"	24 gallons	- 8	-	"	Norwich	"
"	94½ "	- 6	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	16 "	- 10	-	" - -	"	"
"	2½ "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	2 "	1 10	-	Bastard- -	"	"
"	2 "	- 10	-	Red wine -	"	"
"	32 gallons	- 8	-	Wine - -	London	Chronicon Preciosum, p. 101.
"	3 gallons, 3 quarts	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1426	4 gallons	- 4	-	Wine - -	Ottertton	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	90 "	- 6	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	4 "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	1 cask	-	6 13 4	" - -	St. Dennis	"
1427	1 pipe	-	6 13 4	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	4 gallons	- 4	-	" - -	Ottertton	"
"	1½ "	- 10	-	" - -	Oxford	"
1428	4 "	- 6	-	" - -	Ottertton	"
"	4 "	- 8	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	88 "	- 6	-	" - -	"	"
1429	15 "	- 8	-	" - -	Lancaster	"
"	11 "	- 8	-	Gascon wine -	Southampton	11th Report Hist. MSS., Part III., p. 137.
"	4 "	- 6	-	Wine - -	Ottertton	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	58 "	- 6	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	49 "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	1 tun	-	6 0 0	Red Gascony	Southampton	11th Report Hist. MSS., Appendix, Part III., p. 135.
1430	4 gallons	- 6	-	Wine - -	Ottertton	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1431	1 hogshead	-	5 6 8	Red Gascony	Castre	"
"	16 gallons	- 8	-	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	14 "	- 6	-	Wine - -	Ottertton	"
1433	1 pottle and 1 pint	- 8	-	" - -	Coleshull	"
"	6 gallons	- 8	-	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	10½ "	- 7½	-	" - -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1433	4 gallons	- 6	-	Wine - -	Ottertton	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	56 "	- 8	-	" - -	Pershore	"
"	3 barrels	-	2 10 0	Malmsey, Romeney, Muscadell	Winterton	"
1434	5 gallons	- 8	-	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	2 "	1 0	-	Malmsey -	"	"
"	16 "	- 6	-	Wine - -	Trevarthen	"
1435	4 "	- 6	-	" - -	Ottertton	"
"	107½ "	- 7	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	4 "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
1436	4 "	- 6	-	" - -	Ottertton	"
1437	3 "	- 8	-	" - -	Bicester	"
"	4 "	- 6	-	" - -	Ottertton	"
"	123½ "	- 7	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	10 "	- 8	-	" - -	Ripynghon	"
"	9 "	- 10	-	" - -	"	"
"	2 "	1 0	-	" - -	"	"
1438	6 "	1 0	-	Red wine -	Cambridge	"
1439	4 "	- 8	-	Wine - -	Ottertton	"
1440	Not specified	1 0	-	" - -	London	Chronicon Preciosum, p. 102.
1441	90½ gallons	- 6	-	" - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	2 "	- 8	-	" - -	Pershore	"
"	1 "	- 8	-	" - -	St. Ives	"
1442	3 "	- 8	-	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	1 "	1 4	-	Malmsey -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
1443	2 gallons	s. d. 1 0	£ s. d. -	Red wine -	Norwich	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	72 "	- 6½	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	10 "	- 7	-	" - -	"	"
"	8 tuns	-	7 6 8	Gascony -	Bristol	"
"	12 pipes, 54 gallons	-	6 0 0	" -	Writtle	"
"	3 tuns, 1 pipe	-	6 11 3	" -	"	"
"	1 butt (36 gallons)	1 5	2 11 0	Rhenish -	"	"
1444	1 gallon	- 8	-	Wine - -	Exeter	Shillingforth Letters.
"	1 quart	1 4	-	Malmsey -	"	"
"	12 pipes, 54 gallons	-	6 0 0	Wine - -	Writtle	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	30 tuns, 1 pipe	-	6 11 3	Gascony wine	"	"
"	1 fatte (5 ohms)	-	2 11 0	Rhenish -	"	"
"	8 tuns	-	7 6 8	Red Gascony	"	"
"	10 "	-	5 6 8	" -	"	"
1445	3 quarts	1 4	-	Malmsey -	Exeter	Shillingforth Letters.
"	3 "	1 0	-	Romeney -	"	"
"	4 gallons	- 8	-	Red wine -	Cambridge	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	2½ "	1 4	-	Tyre and Bastard	"	"
"	4 "	- 8	-	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	1 "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	4 "	- 6	-	Wine - -	Ottertton	"
"	131½ "	- 7	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	2 "	- 8	-	" - -	Pershore	"
1447	8 "	- 8	-	Red and white wine	Cambridge	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1447	3 gallons	1 4	—	Tyre - -	Cambridge	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	1 pipe	—	5 0 0	Red wine -	Oxford	"
1448	4 gallons	— 6	—	Wine - -	Ottertton	"
"	3 "	— 8	—	" - -	Oxford	"
"	Assize price	— 6	—	Red Gascony wine	Beverley	Beverley MSS., p. 123.
1449	3 hogsheads	—	6 13 4	Wine - -	Cambridge	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	17 gallons	— 10	—	Red and white wine	"	"
"	11 "	1 4	—	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	2 pipes	—	7 0 0	Wine - -	Norwich	"
"	119 gallons	— 7	—	" - -	Oxford	"
"	2 "	— 8	—	" - -	"	"
1450	11½ "	— 10	—	Red wine -	Cambridge	"
"	4 "	— 6	—	Wine - -	Ottertton	"
"	65½ "	— 7	—	" - -	Oxford	"
"	67 "	— 9	—	" - -	"	"
"	2½ "	— 10	—	" - -	"	"
"	16½ "	— 8	—	" - -	"	"
"	33½ "	— 10	—	" - -	(Oriol College) Oxford	"
1451	4 "	— 6	—	" - -	Ottertton	"
1452	29½ "	— 7	—	" - -	Oxford	"
"	24½ "	— 9	—	" - -	"	"
1453	4 "	— 6	—	" - -	Ottertton	"
"	1 pipe	—	5 17 6	" - -	Sion	"
1454	3 gallons	— 8	—	Red wine -	Cambridge	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1454	14½ gallons	- 7	-	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	2 "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	12 "	- 9	-	" - -	"	"
"	23½ "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	10 gallons 1 pottell	- 8	-	Good wine -	Rye	Vth Report Com. Hist. MSS., p. 491.
"	6 quarts	1 2	-	Sweet wine -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1455	16½ gallons	- 8	-	Wine - -	(Oriel College) Oxford	"
"	22½ "	- 9½	-	" - -	"	"
"	2½ "	- 10	-	" - -	"	"
1456	7½ "	1 0	-	" - -	Cambridge	"
"	6 "	- 10	-	" - -	(King's College) Cambridge	"
"	20 "	1 0	-	" - -	"	"
"	20½ "	- 9	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	42½ "	- 10	-	" - -	(Oriel College)	"
"	5 "	- 8	-	" - -	Windsor	"
1457	4 "	- 6	-	" - -	Ottertton	"
"	28½ "	- 9	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	11½ "	- 10	-	" - -	(Oriel College) Cambridge	"
1458	1 hogshead	-	7 13 4	Red wine -	"	"
"	4 gallons	- 8	-	Wine - -	"	"
"	4 "	- 6	-	" - -	Ottertton	"
1459	4 "	- 6	-	" - -	"	"
1460	2 hogsheads	-	7 1 8	Red wine -	Finchale	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1460	2 gallons	- 10	-	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	12 "	- 7	-	" - -	"	"
"	13½ "	- 9	-	" - -	(Oriol College) Oxford	"
"	2 "	1 0	-	" - -	Beverley	Beverley MSS., p. 165.
1461	75 "	- 8	-	" - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	40 "	- 11	-	" - -	"	"
1462	13 "	1 0	-	Red wine -	(Oriol College) Lynn	11th Report Com. Hist. MSS., Part III., p. 224.
"	6 "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	1 "	1 4	-	Tyre - -	"	"
"	10 "	1 0	-	Red and white wine	Cambridge	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	1 hogshead	-	8 0 0	Red wine -	Finchale	"
"	1 "	-	9 6 8	Claret wine -	Evesham	"
"	1 pipe	-	10 0 0	Gascony wine	Stoke	"
"	2 tuns	-	10 13 4	Spanish wine	"	"
1463	1 pipe	-	7 0 0	Gascony wine	Ipswich	"
"	23½ gallons	1 0	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	11 "	- 8	-	" - -	(Oriol College) Oxford	"
"	3 pipes	-	8 0 0	" - -	Stoke	"
"	5 "	-	7 16 0	Red and white wine	Writtle	"
"	3 "	-	6 13 4	" "	"	"
1464	12 gallons	- 8	-	Wine - -	Cambridge	"
"	55 "	- 8	-	" - -	Oxford	"
1465	3 gallons	- 8	-	" - -	(Oriol College) Cambridge	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1465	33 gallons	- 6	-	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	22 "	- 7½	-	" - -	"	"
1466	121½ "	- 10	-	" - -	(Oriol College) Cambridge	"
"	8 "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	1 pipe	-	4 0 0	Wine - -	Howard	"
"	1 hogshead	-	5 6 8	Red wine -	accounts Ormesby	"
"	49½ gallons	- 6	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	6½ "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	19½ "	- 10	-	" - -	(Oriol College) Oxford	"
1467	7½ "	- 10	-	Red wine -	Cambridge	"
"	8 "	- 9½	-	" - -	"	"
"	12 "	1 0½	-	Red and sweet wines	"	"
"	1 hogshead	-	6 17 4	Red wine -	Dover	"
"	1 gallon	- 8	-	New red wine	London	"
"	4 gallons	- 6	-	Wine - -	Ottertton	"
"	11½ "	- 10	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	25½ "	- 8	-	" - -	(Oriol College) Oxford	"
1468	10½ "	- 8	-	" - -	Cambridge	"
"	1 hogshead	-	4 0 0	Red wine -	Ormesby	"
"	24½ gallons	- 8	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
1469	7 "	- 8½	-	Red wine -	(Oriol College) Cambridge	"
"	1½ "	1 2	-	White wine -	"	"
"	66 "	- 8	-	Wine - -	"	"
"	2 "	- 10	-	" - -	(King's College) Cambridge	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1469	28 gallons	- 8	4 0 0	Wine - -	Oxford (Oriol College)	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	Not specified	-	5 0 0	Bordeaux wine	London	Rymer's <i>Fœdera</i> , Vol. XI., p. 674.
1470	1 rundlet (16 gallons)	1 11	-	Sweet wine -	Norwich	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	47½ gallons	- 6	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	19½ "	- 8	-	" - -	(Oriol College)	"
1471	19½ "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
1472	24 "	- 8	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	53 "	- 10	-	" - -	Cambridge	"
"	4 "	- 10	-	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	8 "	- 6	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	62 "	- 6	-	Red wine -	St. Ives	"
1473	68 "	- 10	-	Red and white wine	Cambridge	"
"	1 pipe	-	9 6 8	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	1 gallon	- 10	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	20 gallons	- 8	-	" - -	(Oriol College)	"
1474	1½ "	- 10	-	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	2½ "	1 4	-	Malmsey -	"	"
"	1 "	1 4	-	Tyre - -	"	"
"	1 "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	Lynn	11th Report Hist. MSS., Part III., p. 225.
"	26½ "	- 8	-	Wine - -	Oxford (Oriol College)	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1475	24 "	- 8	-	" - -	Oxford	"
1476	25 "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	1 "	1 -	-	Red wine -	Norwich	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1476	2 gallons	- 8	-	Red wine -	Norwich	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	3 "	1 4	-	Malmsey -	"	"
1477	4 "	- 8	-	Red wine -	"	"
"	3 "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	27 "	- 7	-	Wine -	Oxford (Oriol College)	"
1478	30 "	- 8	-	" -	Oxford	"
"	40½ "	- 8½	-	" -	Cambridge	"
"	16 tuns	-	4 0 0	Red Gascon wine	Salisbury	Cal. Pat. Rolls, 18 Ed. IV., Part II., m. 18d.
"	2 gallons	- 8	-	Red wine -	Norwich	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	1 "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
1479	25½ "	- 8	-	Wine -	Oxford (Oriol College)	"
1480	21 "	- 8	-	" -	Oxford	"
1481	3 "	- 8	-	Red wine -	Norwich	"
"	2½ "	1 4	-	Malmsey, Tyre, Romeney	"	"
"	4 "	- 6	-	Wine -	Otterton	"
1482	30½ "	1 0	-	Red wine -	Cambridge	"
"	17 "	1 0	-	Red wine and claret	"	"
"	10 "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	5 "	1 0	-	Red wine -	"	"
"	4½ "	1 6	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	3 tuns	-	10 0 0	Wine -	Howard Accounts	"
"	4½ gallons	1 0	-	" -	"	"
"	1 tun	-	10 0 0	" -	London	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1482	122 quarts	- 10	-	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	211 "	1 0	-	" - -	"	"
"	22 gallons	1 0	-	" - -	"	"
"	106 "	- 8	-	" - -	(Oriol College) Oxford	"
"	127 quarts	- 8	-	" - -	(Magdalen College) Oxford	"
1484	63½ gallons	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	1 gallon	1 4	-	Bastard -	"	"
"	126 quarts	- 10	-	Red wine -	(Magdalen College) Oxford	"
"	132 "	1 -	-	" -	"	"
"	83 "	- 8	-	" -	"	"
"	24 gallons	- 8	-	Wine - -	(Oriol College) Oxford	"
1485	122 quarts	- 8	-	" - -	(Magdalen College) Oxford	"
"	24½ gallons	- 10	-	" - -	(Oriol College) Oxford	"
1486	47 quarts	- 10	-	" - -	(Magdalen College) Oxford	"
"	18 gallons	1 0	-	Wine - -	(Oriol College) Cambridge	"
1488	29½ "	- 10	-	" - -	"	"
"	53 "	- 8	-	Red, white and claret	"	"
"	2 "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	1 "	3 4	-	Hippocras -	"	"
"	1 pint	1 4	-	Bastard -	"	"
"	1 hogshead	-	6 0 0	Claret - -	Farley	"
"	60 gallons	- 8	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
1488	24 gallons	s. d. - 8	£ s. d. - -	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers Vol. III.
1489	34 "	- 10	-	" - -	"	"
"	36 "	10	-	" - -	"	"
"	25 "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	1 "	1 -	-	" - -	"	"
"	12½ "	- 10	-	Red wine -	Cambridge	"
"	18 "	- 8	-	" -	"	"
"	27½ "	1 -	-	Red and white	"	"
"	8½ "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	1 tun	-	7 5 10	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	1 butt	-	10 12 4	Sweet wine -	"	"
1490	26½ gallons	- 10	-	Wine - -	Oxford (Oriol College)	"
1491	24 "	- 10	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	3 tuns	-	8 0 0	" - -	Norwich	"
1492	Not specified	-	8 0 0	Malmsey -	-	Macpherson, Vol. I., p. 716.
"	8 gallons	- 10	-	Red wine -	Cambridge	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	6½ "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	23 "	1 1	-	Wine - -	Oxford (Oriol College)	"
1493	12 "	- 10	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	6 "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
1494	22½ "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	36 "	- 10	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	2 hogsheads	-	8 0 0	Oseye - -	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	1 tun	-	6 0 0	Gascony wine	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1495	1 tun	—	6 4 5	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	2 hogsheads	—	8 0 0	Oseye - -	"	"
"	25 sextaries	3 8	per sex- tary	Rhenish -	"	"
"	27½ gallons	— 8	—	Wine - -	Oxford (Oriol College)	"
1496	1 tun	—	6 4 5	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	8 gallons	— 10	—	Red wine -	Cambridge	"
"	17½ "	— 8	—	Gascony wine	"	"
"	11½ "	1 4	—	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	16 "	— 10	—	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	40½ "	— 8	—	" - -	"	"
"	21 "	— 8	—	" - -	"	"
"	82 "	— 8	—	" - -	(Oriol College) Oxford	"
1497	17 "	— 8	—	" - -	"	"
"	1 pipe	—	5 6 8	Red wine -	(Oriol College) Sion	"
1498	1 tun	—	4 12 3	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	1½ pipe	—	3 5 4	Claret - -	Battle	"
"	1 "	—	3 0 0	White wine -	"	"
"	2 gallons	1 3	—	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	62 "	— 8	—	Gascony wine	Cambridge	"
"	20 "	— 10	—	Wine - -	"	"
"	18 "	1 4	—	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	1½ "	3 4	—	Hippocras -	"	"
"	1 hogshead	—	4 13 4	Red wine -	"	"
"	1 tierce	—	4 10 0	Wine - -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1498	1½ gallon	- 10	-	Wine - -	Stanford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	20½ "	- 8	-	" - -	Oxford (Oriel College)	"
1499	18 "	- 8	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	19 "	- 8	-	Gascony wine	Cambridge	"
"	7 "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	1 tun	-	4 19 2	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	1 butt	-	8 13 4	Sweet wine -	"	"
1500	10 gallons	- 8	-	Wine - -	Cambridge	"
"	½ "	1 4	-	Bastard- -	"	"
"	30½ "	- 8	-	Gascony wine	"	"
"	9½ "	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	43 "	- 8	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	9½ "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	5 butts	-	4 11 6	Malmsey -	(Oriel College) Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	111 tuns	-	4 1 0	Gascony wine	"	"
1501	Not specified	-	4 11 6	Sweet wine -	"	"
1502	1 tun	-	3 3 4	White wine -	Battle	"
"	2 "	-	4 8 8	Red Gascony wine	"	"
"	1 "	-	4 13 4	Wine - -	"	"
"	2 pipes	-	4 3 4	Red wine -	"	"
"	1 "	-	3 0 0	White wine -	"	"
"	½ "	-	2 16 8	Wine - -	Cambridge	"
"	2 gallons	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	23½ "	- 8	-	" - -	(King's College) Cambridge	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1502	5 gallons	1 4	-	Sweet wine -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1503	51 "	- 7½	-	Wine -	Oxford	"
1504	2 tuns	-	4 0 0	Red wine -	Canterbury	"
"	4 "	-	3 17 4	Claret -	"	"
"	1 "	-	3 6 8	White wine -	"	"
"	1 butt	-	4 0 0	Malmsey -	"	"
"	2 ohms	-	1 3 4 (per ohm)	Rhenish -	London	Chronicon Preciosum, p. 115.
"	Not specified	-	8 0 0	Red wine -	"	"
"	"	-	7 6 8	Claret -	"	"
"	"	-	6 13 4	White wine -	"	"
"	"	-	4 0 0 (per butt)	Malmsey -	"	"
"	"	-	4 9 1	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	4 6 2 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
1505	"	-	4 9 8	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	-	4 18 6 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	2 hogsheads	-	5 6 8	Red and claret	Wymondham	"
"	30 gallons	1 0	-	Malmsey -	"	"
1506	7½ "	- 8	-	Wine -	Cambridge	"
"	1 "	2 8	-	Hippocras -	"	"
"	49 "	- 8	-	Wine -	Oxford	"
"	1 "	- 10	-	" -	(Magdalen College)	"
"	30 "	- 8	-	" -	Oxford	"
1507	22 "	- 8	-	" -	(Oriol College) Cambridge	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVIth CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1507	1 gallon	2 8	-	Hippocras -	Cambridge	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1508	1 "	- 8	-	Wine - -	"	"
"	½ "	1 -	-	Rhenish -	"	"
"	57 "	- 7½	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
1510	Not specified	-	4 5 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	4 8 6 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	11 gallons	- 8	-	White and claret	Hulme	"
"	3½ "	1 4	-	Malmsey -	"	"
"	½ "	1 -	-	Rhenish -	"	"
"	1½ "	- 1	-	Bastard -	"	"
"	51½ "	- 8	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	1 cask	-	5 2 0	Red wine -	"	"
"	1 butt	-	6 11 11 (per butt)	Malmsey -	"	"
1511	1 cask	-	5 6 8	Gascony wine	"	"
"	1 hogshead	-	5 6 8	Red wine -	"	"
"	1 butt	-	4 6 8 (per butt)	Malmsey -	"	"
1512	10 tuns, 2 hogsheads	-	4 13 4	Red, white and claret	Yorkshire	Earl of Northumberland, "Household Accounts," p. 2.
"	Assize price	- 8	-	Gascony wine	London	Letter Book M, fo. 208.
"	2 gallons	- 10	-	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	33½ "	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
1513	Assize price	- 8	-	Gascony, Rochelle and French	London	Letter Book M, fo. 226.
"	"	1 0	-	Malmsey, Bastard, Fimoy	"	Letter Book M, fo. 219b.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1513	Assize price	1 4	-	Muscadell -	London	Letter Book M, fo. 219b.
"	Not specified	-	5 0 0 (per butt)	Malmsey -	Hickling	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1514	"	-	4 0 0 (per butt)	" -	"	"
"	3 gallons	- 8	-	Claret -	"	"
"	1 "	1 -	-	Bastard -	"	"
"	Not specified	-	6 0 0	Wine -	London	"
1515	"	-	5 16 0	Gascon wine -	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	7 0 0 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	25 casks	-	6 0 0	Rochelle wine	Canterbury	"
"	3 "	-	8 0 0	Wine -	Norwich	"
"	Assize price	- 10	-	Rhenish -	London	Letter Book N, fo. 1b.
1516	Not specified	-	5 15 1	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	4 1 0 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	"	-	4 16 0	Wine -	"	"
"	"	-	4 0 0	" -	"	"
"	"	-	6 0 0	" -	"	"
"	2 tuns	-	5 6 8	Red, white and claret	London	Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part I., No. 1935.
1517	1½ "	-	4 0 0	Wine -	Devonshire	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	1 hogshead	-	4 16 0	" -	London	"
"	Assize price	- 10	-	Rhenish -	"	Letter Book N, fo. 55b.
1518	1 rundlet	1 -	-	Malmsey -	Cambridge	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	gallon	- 8	-	Red wine -	"	"
"	20 gallons	- 8	-	Wine -	Henley-on-Thames	"
"	2 hogsheads	-	4 0 0	Gascon wine -	Oxford	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1518	3 tuns, 2 pieces		8 0 0	Wine - -	Greenwich	Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., p. 1514.
1519	Not specified	-	4 13 9	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Roger, Vol. III.
"	"	-	3 12 10 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	2 hogsheads	-	4 13 4	Red and claret	Hickling	"
"	1 "	-	4 13 4	Claret - -	Hunstanton	"
"	1 "	-	5 0 0	Wine - -	London	"
1520	Not specified	-	4 14 8	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	3 7 10 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	1 tun	-	4 13 4	Wine - -	Hunstanton	"
"	1 hogshead	-	5 6 8	" - -	Oxford	"
"	1 "	-	5 0 0	Red wine -	Sion	"
"	2 "	-	4 13 4	Red and claret	"	"
1521	Not specified	-	4 10 10	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	4 0 0 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	36 gallons	- 10	-	Malmsey -	London	"
"	23 "	1 1	-	" -	St. Osith	"
"	2 hogsheads	-	5 2 0	Claret - -	Sion	"
1522	Not specified	-	5 13 4	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	4 0 0	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	2½ gallons	2 0	-	Malmsey -	Hunstanton	"
"	1 hogshead	-	5 6 8	Red wine -	"	"
"	1 "	-	5 0 0	Claret - -	"	"
"	19 gallons	1 0	-	Rhenish -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1522	1 butt	—	4 4 0	Malmsey -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	146 gallons	1 2	(per butt)	Singing wine -	Sion	"
"	1 butt	—	5 16 8	Malmsey -	"	"
"	1 "	—	1 16 6	Romeney -	"	"
"	Assize price	— 8	(per butt)	Gascon and French	London	Letter Book N, fo. 184.
"	"	1 —	—	Malmsey -	"	"
"	"	1 4	—	Romeney and other sweet wines	"	"
"	1 tun	—	10 0 0	Red and claret Gascon wine	"	Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 262.
1523	4½ gallons	— 10	—	Malmsey -	London	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	Not specified	4 2	—	Hippocras -	Cambridge	Bateson, Grace Book B, Part II, p. 108.
1524	"	1 0	—	Gascon wine -	Devonshire	Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. IV., Part I., No. 771.
"	"	—	4 0 0	Claret -	"	
"	"	—	5 0 0	Malmsey -	"	
"	"	—	(per butt) 3 0 0	Romeney -	"	
"	"	—	(per butt) 2 13 4	Muscadell -	"	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	—	(per pipe)	Wine -	Warwick	
1525	12½ gallons	1 4	—	Wine -	Warwick	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1526	Not specified	—	5 13 8	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	—	4 18 2	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	"	—	(per butt)	Gascony wine	London	Letter Book N, fo. 299b.
1527	Assize price	— 8	—	Gascony wine	London	Letter Book N, fo. 299b.
"	2 hogsheads	—	5 0 0	Wine -	Bardney	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	7½ gallons	1 3½	—	Malmsey wine	"	"
"	1 hogshead	—	6 0 0	Claret -	Hunstanton	"
"	1 gallon	1 6	—	Malmsey -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1528	715 tuns (for Henry VIII.)	-	4 1 7	{ Red, claret, and white wine	at Bordeaux in London	{ Brewer, Henry VIII., Vol. IV., Part II., Nos. 5082, 5109.
"	21 tuns	-	5 15 5			
"	21 tuns	-	5 7 6	Orleans wine-	London	"
1529	Not specified	-	6 1 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	3 18 10 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	40 gallons	1 0	-	Malmsey -	London	"
"	2 "	1 2	-	Claret -	Oxford	"
"	23½ "	1 0	-	Red wine -	"	"
"	1 tun	-	5 11 4	Wine -	(Magdalen College)	"
1530	37½ gallons	1 0	-	Malmsey -	London	"
"	40½ "	- 10½	-	Crete -	Oxford	"
"	3 tuns	-	5 8 0	White Gaillac wine	London	Privy Purse Exp., Henry VIII., p. 24.
"	Assize price	- 10	-	Rhenish wine	"	Letter Book O, fos. 122, 123.
1530-31	2 tuns, 16 hogsheads	-	8 0 0	Red and claret wine	Durham	Durham Household Book (Surtees Society), pp. 3, 4, 49.
"	3 hogsheads	-	7 14 8	" -	"	"
"	4 "	-	7 13 4	" -	"	"
"	3 "	-	7 2 4	" -	"	"
"	4 tuns, 23 hogsheads	-	6 13 4	" -	"	"
"	3 hogsheads	-	6 6 9	Red and claret wine	"	"
"	6 "	-	6 0 0	"	"	"
1531	Not specified	-	6 1 6	Gascon wine -	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	4 0 0	Sweet wine -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1531	32 gallons	- 10	-	Red and claret	London	Soyer, Pantropheon, p. 360.
"	Assize price	- 8	-	French and Gascon	"	Letter Book O, fo. 174b.
"	38½ gallons	- 10	-	Wine - -	"	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	21 "	1 2	-	Crete - -	Oxford	"
"	1 cask	-	5 6 8	Wine - -	(Magdalen College)	"
"	1 butt	-	4 10 0	Malmsey -	Oxford	"
"	4½ gallons	1 0	(per butt)	Wine - -	"	"
1532	Assize price	- 8	-	Gascony, Guyenne, French	London	{ Statute 23, Henry VIII., c. VII.
"	"	1 0	-	Sweet wines -	"	
"	2 hogsheads	-	6 13 4	Red wine -	Durham	Durham Household Book, p. 135.
"	1 "	-	6 8 0	Wine - -	"	"
"	16 "	-	4 13 4	Wine and red wine -	"	"
"	46 gallons	- 10	-	Malmsey -	London	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	1 hogshead	-	6 0 0	Claret - -	"	MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, Vol. IV., p. 273.
"	39 <i>caides</i>	16 0	-	Crete - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	21 sextaries	4 0	per sextary	Rhenish -	London	"
1533	3 hogsheads	-	4 13 4	Claret and red wine	Durham	Durham Household Book, p. 228.
"	2 gallons	- 8	-	"	"	"
"	2 tuns	-	3 2 6	Wine - -	Hunstanton	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	2 hogsheads	-	4 6 8	" - -	"	"
"	7 gallons	1 1½	-	Rhenish -	"	"
"	36½ "	- 10	-	Malmsey -	London	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1533	20 gallons	- 9	-	Crete - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	2 hogsheads	-	5 0 0	Claret - -	Stonor	"
"	18½ gallons	- 10	-	Sack - -	"	"
"	11½ "	- 10	-	Malmsey - -	"	"
"	1 "	- 8	-	Wine - -	"	"
1534	16 "	- 10	-	Malmsey - -	Cambridge	"
"	8 hogsheads	-	4 6 8	Wine and claret	Durham	Durham Household Book, pp. 229, 236.
"	3 hogsheads and 6 tuns	-	4 13 4	Claret - -	"	"
"	36½ gallons	- 10	-	Malmsey - -	London	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	23 "	- 10	-	Crete - -	Oxford	"
"	Not specified	-	4 5 6	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	3 14 2 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
1535	16½ gallons	- 10	-	Malmsey - -	Cambridge	"
"	Assize price	-	4 0 0	Gascon and French	London	Letter Book P, fo. 50b.
"	"	- 8	-	" - -	"	Stat. 28 Henry VIII., c. xiv.
"	"	1 0	-	Sweet wines -	"	"
1536	1 hogshead	-	5 0 0	Wine - -	Birling	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	12 gallons	- 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	15 "	1 0	-	Rhenish - -	"	"
1537	1 hogshead	-	5 6 8	Wine - -	London	Privy Purse Exp. Pss., Mary, p. 28.
"	Not specified	-	4 1 8	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	4 0 10 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	Assize price	-	4 13 4	Gascony or French	Colchester	Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XII., Part II., No. 1155.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1537	3 gallons	4 0	-	Hippocras -	Norwich	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	1 hogshead	-	5 6 8	Claret - -	Tottenham	MSS. of the Duke of Rutland, Vol. IV., p. 277.
"	10½ gallons	- 10	-	" - -	"	
"	9 pints	2 0	-	Malmsey -	"	
"	4½ gallons	1 0	-	Crete - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	8 "	1 4	-	Wine - -	(Magdalen College)	"
1538	Not specified	-	4 4 5	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	4 2 11	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	"	-	3 0 0 (per butr)	Prize wine (claret)	Hastings	Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIII., Part I., No. 922.
"	"	-	5 13 4	Prize wine (Romeney)	Chepstow	<i>Idem</i> , Part II., No. 347.
1538-9	Assize price	- 8	-	Red, white, and claret	London	Letter Book P, fo. 131b, 171b.
"	"	1 0	-	Malmsey and sweet wines	"	"
"	"	1 0	-	Rhenish	"	"
"	"	1 3	-	Sack	"	"
1539	Not specified	-	4 8 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	4 5 11 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	5 hogsheads	-	6 0 0	Wine - -	Leeds	Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XIV., Part II., No. 782.
"	Assize price	-	5 0 0	French and Gascon	London	Letter Book P, fo. 172b.
"	1 hogshead	-	6 0 0	Claret - -	"	MSS. Rutland, Vol. IV., p. 295.
1540	Not specified	-	5 6 4	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	4 0 0 (per butt)	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	3 gallons	- 10½	-	Gascony wine	Norwich	

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1540	Assize price	-	4 0 0	French and Gascon	London	Letter Book P, fo. 200.
1541	1 gallon	2 0	-	Muscadell -	Norwich	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	1 "	5 2	-	Hippocras -	"	"
"	23½ "	- 10	-	Crete - -	Oxford	"
"	Assize price	-	5 0 0	French or Gascon wine	London	} Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XVI. Nos. 1393, 1419.
"	"	-	4 6 8	<i>Idem</i> (inferior quality)	"	
"	Not specified	-	4 8 8	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	4 3 3 (per butt)	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	"	1 4	-	Sack and Muscadine	Belvoir	Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 310.
"	4 hogsheads	-	4 13 4	Red, claret and white wine	London	Rutland MSS. Vol. IV., pp. 311, 312.
"	2 tuns	-	5 0 0	Gascony wine	"	"
"	6 gallons, 3 quarts	2 0	-	Muscadell -	"	"
"	8 gallons, 1 potell	1 0	-	Sack - -	"	"
"	1 puncheon	-	7 0 0	French wine -	"	"
"	1 tierce	-	-	-	-	-
1542	Not specified	-	3 15 5	Gascony wine	Belvoir	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	3 15 11	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	1 barrel	1 0	-	Sack - -	Bristol	Tovey, Wit and Wisdom, p. 47.
"	1 hogshead	-	5 0 0	Gascony wine	"	"
"	Assize price	-	5 0 0	Best Gascon or French	London	Letter Book Q, fo. 42b.
"	2 hogsheads	-	5 0 0	Claret - -	"	Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 320.
"	6 "	-	8 0 0	Red, claret and white wine.	"	"
"	1 butt	-	3 18 2	Sack - -	"	"
"	1 "	-	3 13 2	" - -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1542	6 hogsheads	—	8 0 0	Red, white and claret wine	London	Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 320.
1543	1 butt	—	4 13 4	Malmsey	"	<i>Idem</i> , p. 340
"	Not specified	—	4 9 10	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	—	4 1 4	Sweet wine	"	"
"	"	—	6 10 0	Inferior wine	Alnwick	Gairdner, Henry VIII., Vol. XVIII. Part I., No. 156.
1544	Assize price	—	8 0 0	Best Gascony	London	<i>Idem</i> , Vol. XIX. Part I., No. 537.
"	"	—	6 0 0	French wine	"	"
"	Not specified	—	5 12 10	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	—	4 0 10	Sweet wine	"	"
1545	"	—	3 19 6	"	"	"
1546	10 butts	—	3 15 0	Sack	Navy Accounts	"
"	28 "	—	3 6 8	"	"	"
"	2 "	—	5 0 0	Malmsey	"	"
"	78 "	—	3 6 8	Sack	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	Not specified	—	6 1 10	Gascony	"	"
"	"	—	4 6 6	Sweet wine	"	"
1547	"	—	4 9 6	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	—	4 0 0	Sweet wine	"	"
1548	"	—	4 7 10	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	—	5 0 0	Sweet wine	"	"
"	96 butts	—	4 1 8	Malmsey	Navy Accounts	"
1549	Not specified	—	4 1 8	Sweet wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1550	Not specified	-	6 14 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	5 2 6	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	3 gallons	- 8	(per butt)	Wine - -	York	"
1551	10 tuns	-	8 0 0	Gascony wine	Hatfield	"
1552	Not specified	-	8 16 8	"	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	6 8 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
1553	"	-	5 18 4	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	-	8 4 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	40 gallons	1 0	-	Malmsey -	Oxford	"
"	Not specified	-	5 0 0	Wine - -	London	Chronicon Preciosum, p. 118.
"	"	2 0	-	Muscadell -	"	"
"	"	1 8	-	Malmsey -	"	" p. 119.
"	"	1 0	-	Red wine -	"	" "
"	Assize price	-	5 0 0	French and Gascony	"	Letter Book R, fo. 171b.
"	"	- 8	-	Gascon and French wine	London	Stat. 7 Edward VI., cap. V.
"	"	- 4	-	Rochelle wine	"	"
"	"	1 0	-	Sweet wines -	"	"
1554	Not specified	-	6 18 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	6 9 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	Assize price	-	(per butt) 6 6 8	French and Gascony wine	London	Letter Book X, fo. 192.
1555	Not specified	-	6 18 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	6 10 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	1 gallon	2 4	-	Malmsey -	Oxford	"
1556	10½ "	1 8	-	Wine - -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1556	3 gallons	1 0	-	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.]
"	2 "	1 3	-	" - -	"	"
"	$\frac{3}{4}$ "	2 0	-	Sack - -	"	"
1557	5 casks	-	5 0 0	Wine - -	Cambridge	"
"	12 gallons	1 4	-	" - -	London	"
"	37 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	2 0	-	" - -	Oxford	"
"	15 "	1 4	-	" - -	"	"
"	Not specified	-	5 6 0	Gascony wine	(Corpus Christi College) Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	6 11 3 (per butt)	Sweet wines -	"	"
1558	"	-	6 10 0 (per butt)	" -	"	"
"	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ gallons	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	Gascony wine	London	"
"	$\frac{3}{4}$ "	1 8	-	Rhenish -	"	"
"	1 "	4 8	-	Hippocras -	"	"
"	1 cask	-	7 13 4	Crete - -	Oxford	"
"	1 gallon	2 0	-	Wine - -	"	"
"	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	1 4	-	" - -	"	"
1559	1 "	1 4	-	" - -	Chester	"
"	1 "	2 0	-	Malmsey -	"	"
"	1 "	1 4	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	1 quart	2 0	-	Malmsey -	"	"
"	Not specified	-	4 18 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	6 10 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
1560	"	-	5 16 0	Gascony wine	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1560	Not specified	-	6 5 0	Sweet wines -	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	3½ gallons	1 6	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
1561	2 "	1 0	-	White and claret	Norwich	"
"	½ "	1 8	-	Sack and Malmsey	"	"
"	1 quart	1 0	-	Bastard -	"	"
"	1 "	2 0	-	Muscadine -	"	"
"	2½ gallons	1 4	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	Not specified	-	10 0 0	Claret - -	London	Chronicon Preciosum, p. 121.
"	"	-	6 2 6	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	6 0 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
1562	"	-	6 6 6	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	-	5 15 6	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	1 gallon	1 4	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	Not specified	-	10 0 0	" - -	London	State Papers, D.S. 1547-1580, p. 171.
1563	"	-	6 6 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	5 12 6	Sweet wines -	"	"
1564	"	-	6 2 0	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	-	5 14 6	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	4 gallons	1 5	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	½ "	2 8	-	Muscadine -	"	"
1565	Assize price	-	7 6 8	French or Gascon wine	London	Letter Book X, fo. 192.
"	"	1 0	-	"	"	"
"	1 gallon	1 4	-	Claret - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	½ "	2 0	-	Sack - -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1565	1 gallon	2 8	-	Muscadine -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	Not specified	-	7 10 6	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	6 5 6	Sweet wines -	"	"
1566	"	-	6 10 0	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	-	6 0 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	3 butts	-	5 13 4	Malmsey -	London	"
"	46 "	-	5 15 0	Sack - -	"	"
1567	2 gallons	1 10	-	Wine - -	Oxford	"
"	Assize price	-	10 0 0	" - -	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Lonsdale MSS., p. 1.
"	Not specified	-	6 8 6	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	5 16 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
1568	"	-	6 6 8	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	-	5 14 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	1½ gallon	1 4	-	Claret and white wine	Oxford	"
"	1½ "	2 0	-	Sack - -	"	"
"	1½ "	2 8	-	Muscadel -	"	"
1569	10½ "	1 4	-	Claret and white wine	"	"
"	Not specified	-	6 10 6	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	5 13 6	Sweet wine -	"	"
1570	"	-	6 7 6	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	-	5 13 6	Sweet wine -	"	"
1571	"	-	6 13 4	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	-	5 6 0	Sweet wine -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
1571	Assize price	s. d. —	£ s. d. 8 6 8	Gascon or French wine	London	Letter Book X, fo. 192.
"	"	1 1	—	"	"	"
"	"	1 4	—	Muscadel -	"	"
"	"	1 2	—	Malmsey -	"	"
"	"	1 1	—	Sack - -	"	"
"	1 gallon	2 0	—	Sack - -	Kingston-on-Thames	Thorold Rogers Vol. III.
"	20 tuns	—	6 10 0	Gascony, Orleans, Burgundy, Graves	London	Rutland MSS., Vol. I., p. 94.
1572	Not specified	—	5 16 4	Sweet wines -	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
1573	"	—	7 9 0	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	—	5 9 6	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	3 gallons	1 8	—	White wine -	Oxford	"
"	1½ "	2 0	—	Claret - -	"	"
"	½ "	2 8	—	Sack - -	"	"
"	½ "	3 4	—	Muscadel -	"	"
1574	1½ "	2 0	—	Claret - -	"	"
"	1 "	2 8	—	Sack - -	"	"
"	1 "	3 4	—	" - -	"	"
"	Assize price	—	20 0 0	Spanish- -	London	Letter Book X, fo. 361b.
"	"	—	17 0 0	Gascon - -	"	"
"	Not specified	—	13 11 9	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	—	6 10 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
1575	"	—	21 0 0	French wine -	London	Rutland MSS., Vol. I., p. 103.
"	"	—	20 0 0	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	—	12 10 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1575	Not specified	-	6 5 6	Sweet wines -	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	Assize price	-	10 0 0	French wines	London	Letter Book Y, fo. 5b.
1576	Not specified	-	7 14 6	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	"	-	6 4 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	2 casks	-	10 0 0	Wine - -	Cambridge	"
"	70 tuns	-	7 7 8	" - -	Hatfield	IVth Report Hist. MSS., p. 215.
"	Assize price	-	10 0 0	Gascony wine	Bristol	Tovey, p. 47.
1577	7 hogsheads	-	9 0 0	Claret and White wine	Kirling	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	20 gallons	2 8	-	Sack - -	"	"
"	Not specified	-	7 4 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	"
"	"	-	6 2 0	Sweet wine -	"	"
1578	"	-	7 9 0	Gascony wine	"	"
"	"	-	6 1 0	Sweet wine -	"	"
"	1 butt	-	10 0 0	Sack - -	Kirling	"
"	2 hogsheads	-	10 0 0	Wine - -	"	"
1578-81	Assize price	1 4	-	Gascon wine -	London	Letter Book Y, fo. 283. Letter Book Z, fo. 7b., 8, 9; fo. 105, 105b.
"	"	1 2	-	Rochelle wine	"	
"	"	-	12 0 0	Gascon wine -	"	
"	"	-	10 0 0	Rochelle wine	"	
1579	Not specified	-	6 16 0	Gascony wine	Wardrobe Accounts	Thorold Rogers, Vol. IV.
"	"	-	6 0 0	Sweet wines -	"	"
"	2 tuns	-	14 0 0	Wine - -	Ipswich	"
"	2 "	-	17 0 0	Gascon wine -	Kirling	"
"	1 butt	-	10 0 0	Sack - -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1579	5 gallons	2 2	-	Wine - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. IV.
"	6 "	2 0	-	Claret - -	"	"
"	2 "	2 8	-	Sack - -	"	"
1590	1 "	2 0	-	Wine - -	"	"
1591	1 "	3 1	-	Muscadine -	Cambridge	"
"	Assize price	-	13 0 0	Gascony wine	London	Letter Book Z, fo. 262.
"	"	-	11 0 0	Rochelle wine	"	"
1582	4 gallons	2 0	-	Claret - -	Oxford	Thorold Rogers, Vol. III.
"	2½ "	2 8	-	Sack - -	"	"
"	37½ "	1 4	-	Gascony wine	London	Rutland MSS., Vol. I., p. 139.
1583	2 gallons	3 0	-	Muscadine -	Cambridge	Thorold Rogers, Vol. VI.
"	16 "	2 6	-	Sack - -	Kirtling	"
"	10 "	2 0	-	" - -	"	"
"	2½ tuns	-	11 0 0	Gascony wine	"	"
"	7½ gallons	2 0	-	Rhenish -	Mendham	"
"	10 "	4 0	-	Muscadell -	Oxford	"
"	2½ "	2 0	-	Claret - -	"	"
"	2½ "	2 8	-	Sack - -	"	"
"	Assize price	-	12 0 0	Gascony or French wine	London	Letter Book Z, fo. 341, 341b.
"	"	-	10 0 0	Rochelle wine	"	"
1584	14 gallons	1 9½	-	New Gascony wine	Kirtling	Thorold Rogers, Vol. VI.
"	1 rundlet	-	0 16 6	Sack - -	Worksop	"
1585	1 gallon	3 0	-	" - -	"	"
1586	Not specified	-	25 0 0	Gascony wine	Lynn	Rutland MSS., Vol. I., p. 211.

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont*

Date.	Sales or Purchases	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1586	2 rundlets (21 gallons)	2 8	-	Rhenish wine	London	Rutland MSS., Vol. IV., p. 388. Thorold Rogers, Vol. VI.
"	1 gallon	3 3	-	Muscadine -	Cambridge	
"	2 gallons	2 0	-	Claret - -	"	
"	2 "	3 4	-	Sack - -	Canterbury	"
"	19 "	3 3	-	" - -	Gawthorp	"
"	6½ hogsheads	-	18 0 0	Claret and white wine	Kirkby Stephen	"
"	10 gallons	3 4	-	Muscadine -	"	"
"	6 hogsheads	-	24 0 0	Claret - -	Kirtling	"
1587	1 butt	-	12 0 0	Sack - -	Bristol	Tovey, p. 47.
"	1 tierce	-	21 15 0	Claret - -	Gawthorp	Thorold Rogers, Vol. VI.
"	2½ gallons	3 2	-	Sack - -	"	"
"	15 "	3 5	-	Malmsey -	Kirtling	"
"	1 gallon	3 4	-	Sack - -	Norwich	"
"	1 "	2 4	-	Claret - -	"	"
"	2 gallons	8 0	-	Hippocras -	"	"
1588	13 "	3 3	-	Sack - -	Gawthorp	"
"	1 hogshead	-	17 12 0	Claret - -	"	"
"	6 hogsheads	-	20 0 0	" - -	Kirtling	"
"	1 butt	-	8 0 0	Sack - -	"	"
1589	2 hogsheads	-	20 0 0	White and claret	Gawthorp	"
"	5 gallons	2 9½	-	Rhenish -	Kirtling	"
1590	2 hogsheads	-	20 0 0	White and claret	Gawthorp	"
"	5½ gallons	3 4	-	Sack - -	"	"
1591	17½ "	2 0	-	Wine - -	Eton	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1591	1 tierce and 1 hogshead	-	20 0 0	White and claret	Gawthorp	Thorold Rogers, Vol. VI.
"	38 gallons	3 3	-	Sack - -	"	"
1592	20 "	2 8	-	Claret - -	Eton	"
"	2 "	3 4	-	Sack - -	"	"
1593	Retail price	2 8	-	" - -	London	"
"	"	2 0	-	Claret - -	"	"
1594	1 butt	-	15 0 0	Sack - -	Bristol	Tovey, p. 47.
"	21 gallons	2 0	-	Claret - -	Eton	Thorold Rogers Vol. VI.
"	16 "	2 6	-	Sack - -	London	"
"	16 "	2 6	-	Malmsey - -	"	"
"	7 "	2 4	-	Best red - -	"	"
"	21 "	3 4	-	Best Sack - -	"	"
"	30 "	2 0	-	Best white - -	"	"
"	12 "	3 4	-	Muscadine - -	"	"
"	7 "	3 4	-	Rhenish - -	"	"
"	4½ tuns	-	22 10 0	Gascony wine	"	"
1595	21 gallons	2 0	-	Claret - -	Eton	"
"	2½ "	4 0	-	Sack - -	Gawthorp	"
"	9 "	2 8	-	Claret - -	"	"
1596	8½ "	3 4	-	Sack - -	Worksop	"
1597	21½ "	2 8	-	Claret - -	Eton	"
"	7 "	4 0	-	Sack - -	"	"
1598	Not specified	2 8	-	Gascon wine -	London	Chronicon Preciosum, p. 124.
"	"	4 0	-	Sweet wine -	"	"

PRICES OF WINE IN ENGLAND DURING THE XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES—*cont.*

Date.	Sales or Purchases.	Price per Gallon.	Price per Tun.	Quality or Origin of the Wine.	Town where deal took place.	Authorities.
		s. d.	£ s. d.			
1598	4 gallons	4 8	-	Sack - -	Gawthorp	Thorold Rogers, Vol. VI.
1599	6 "	3 6	-	Wine - -	Cirencester	"
"	24 "	1 10	-	Claret - -	Eton	"
"	2½ "	3 10	-	Sack - -	"	"
1600	2½ "	3 2	-	Wine - -	Cambridge	"
"	4 "	3 0	-	" - -	"	"
"	½ "	2 0	-	Claret - -	"	"
"	1 "	1 8	-	" - -	Eton	"
"	1 "	2 0	-	White wine -	Wormleighton	"
"	¼ "	6 8	-	Aqua vitæ -	"	"
"	¼ "	8 8	-	" - -	"	"
"	1 tierce	-	16 0 0	Claret - -	Syon House	Northumberland MSS. in Vith Report on Hist. MSS., p. 228.
"	1 rundlet	-	1 12 0 perrundlet	Sack - -	"	

APPENDIX B.

CHARTER OF KING EDWARD III. TO THE VINTNERS' COMPANY
OF LONDON, DATED JULY 15TH, 37 EDWARD III., 1363.

Edward, by the Grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland and Aquitain. To all whom these Presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that amongst other things ordained in the last Parliament it was for certain causes and purposes in the same Parliament ordained, that no merchant Englishman should traffick or merchandise by himself or others by any manner of covine but only in that he should chuse before the Feast of Candlemas last past, and that they should meddle with no wares or merchandises than only in such as they should so chuse, which they might put to sale before the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next coming, as in the said ordinances is contained more at large, and now it is shown unto us and to our council that in Gascoigne was no other merchandise for profit to our realm of England than only wines, and the merchants and others of that country; perceiving that the merchants Englishmen did not come there but only to buy wines and by the great multitude of people of divers trades resorting thither, the wines were holden and set at a much higher and dearer price and for that, people of divers trades brought into Gascoigne great and divers sums of money and wares and would not or could not attend to put to sale reasonably their wares, they set a price upon their wines by barter and exchange which amounted to a very excessive sum by the ton above that which the ton should be reasonably sold for, upon which price the Gascoignes agreed together and held with the people that used other merchandise and meddled in buying and selling of wines so that they had no need to sell their wines but at their will, and likewise could not be rulers of the same wares as those that only by the sale of wines and for that the wines coming to divers hands were so much the dearer, and perceiving that when the vintners of England did go into Gascoigne in old times to buy wines the navy was well maintained and then wines were bought by good

advice and at reasonable prices and that which the Englishmen would not suffer to be brought into England, the Gascoignes brought, so that then the country was well served with wines and wares by buying of the same wines and by the multitude of divers people that have gone for a long time past to buy wines in Gascoigne, the Company of the Mistery of Vintners are and were disturbed, that they could not buy wines at a reasonable price and for that the Gascoignes could sell their wines at so high prices in their own country, they did not care to come and travel hither with their wines to the great detriment of us and all our realm. We, understanding the aforesaid things, have by the assent of the Commons and others of our Council towards maintaining and preserving the said ordinances, ordained and granted that no merchant or others of our said realm shall go into Gascoigne or beyond that to buy wines, nor bring into England, nor use, nor haunt merchandise of wines, nor meddle therewith, that is to say, in London, none but such as are enfranchised in the said Mistery of Vintners and likewise in other cities, boroughs and towns, such as have skill and knowledge in the same mistery, to whom it is lawful to buy wines there and bring into England and to sell of their own proper wines by wholesale or retail to the nobles and others, as they shall see good for their profit, for a reasonable price and gain, and We likewise will that the merchants of Gascoigne and other strangers and foreigners of their own proper wines, which they shall bring into England, shall sell by wholesale by the ton or by the pipe and not by retail, nor by little parcels to the nobles or others our Commons, for their store and dispenses in their proper houses and to the said merchant vintners, who will buy the same and that no private person or stranger after he hath brought any wines into our said realm of England shall carry them out of the same realm upon any colour without our special licence, and that the said merchants of the said Mistery of Vintners shall chuse every year four persons, most sufficient, most expert and most knowing in the same mistery who do not keep a tavern; and present them to the Mayor of the said City of London and of other cities, boroughs and towns, where such Mistery of Vintners is used, or to the bailiff or president to survey, that all manner of wines, whatsoever they be, be sold by retail in the tavern at a

reasonable price for such wine and of such condition as they be known and named, and that the taverner be ruled by the said four persons and likewise that the same four persons do correct and amend all defaults that shall be found in the exercise of the said mistery and inflict punishments by their good advice and consideration (if need be) without the said Mayor, bailiff or president, and to the interest the less money may go out of the realm and that money may be better regarded and retained in the same, we will and give licence to the said merchant vintners of England that they may buy cloth and to the merchants Gascoignes bringing wines into England, that they may buy dry fish in the Counties of Cornwall and Devon and herrings and cloth in all our realm at their pleasure and carry them out of this our realm to the parts of Gascoigne and further towards the said parts to sell there for their profit and with the money arising from the same to buy wines there and bring into this our realm and there to sell them and make their profit without disturbance, so that always they do not sell or cause to be sold by themselves or others any cloth, fish or herrings in our realm of England or without but in the parts of Gascoigne and in other parts there, and that the Gascoignes or other foreigners or strangers do not sell any wines in England by retail nor by parcels, but by wholesale by the tons and pipes, as is aforesaid, and we will also that all manner of wines coming to London be discharged and laid on land above London Bridge towards the west and towards the vintry, so that our butler and our gauger and searchers may have the sight and knowledge of the places where they shall be harboured and take the customs and prices and do that which to their office appertaineth, and that no merchant or other denison or foreigner of what condition soever he be shall sell or buy wines, cloth, fish or herrings in any other manner than is aforesaid under the pain of imprisonment, and to lose their wines, cloth, fish and herrings, so bought and sold, and we will that the ordinances and subsidies of wines, fish, cloth and herrings in all cities, boroughs and towns enfranchised within this realm, be firmly kept and preserved in all points to the said vintners and their successors always in the form aforesaid.

In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Given at Westminster the fifteenth day of July in the thirty-seventh year of our reign.

AN ORDINANCE AGAINST THE ADULTERATION OF WINE.

(Letter Book I, fo. 227, A.D. 1419.)

For as moch as many gret now a dayes and long tyme her to fore bothe Englisshmen and aliens in comone harme of alle the Peple and gret slaundre of þis Citee naught charginge her owne untroupe and disceyt daylych usyn within þis Citee þair Wyne of Spayne Rochelle and oþer remenauntz of brokyn sodyn reboyllid and unthrifty wyne of oþer contrees whan þei are febled in colour and noght in value to put yn divers buttys and oþir vessels þat are here rasyd and gummyd with picche code and oþir horrible and unholosome þinges for to reduce and bryng ayen in disceyte of þe peple a plesaunt colour to þe sight and a lykly manere drynkynge of Romeney to þe smell and tast and noght only for exclusion and puttyng a wey þis opyn and sclauderouse deceyt here with yn þis Citee late practisid and bygonne, but also for þe redy remevyng of grete multitude of such wyne deceyvablych contrefetyd and medlid on þe other syde of þe see and broght hydr to selle; The petition of þe Comons hath oftyn here to for requirid a covenable remedie; Wherfor þe Mair and Aldirmen þat now are be good deliberacion and assent of þe Comons knowyng wele þat al þe grete multitude of wyne þat are clepid Romeneyes wip in this Citee are but contrefetid of Spaynissh wyne and Rochelle and oþer remenauntz of wyne forseyd al beit þ^t in colour and tast be the deceyvable menys forseyd it semith oþer; Willyng also the stable amendement of þe deceyt and fals contrefetyng and untrewed medlyng forsayd and þat eche wyne be sold hole in his degre and kynd as he growith hav ordeynid and establisshyd þat no man with yn þis Citee or þe liberte þerof fro this day forward selle a galon of þe best such wyne contrefetid that þei calle Romeney no derer þan vjd on peyne of forfaiture of all þe vessell and wyn wherof he sellith oght in þe contrarie; And also þat fro this day forward no man with yn þis Citee ne þe liberte þerof fre ne forein coloure ne medle no manere wyn þat is to sey no white wip rede, old with newe, hole with brokyn, or corrupt Rochel with Renysshe ne none oþere wyne of divers kyndes ne growynges to gidir but selle hem hole and trewe evyn as þei growyn up peyne of Juyse of þe pillorye as oft as he may be convict in þe contraire; And also þat no Couper ne none oþir man with yn þe

fraunchise of þis Citee be so hardy fro þis day forward in his own persone or by his servaunt to gumme rase bynde setyn hede or in eny oþer wyse contrefete or medle with þe undewe makyng or contrefetyng of eny manere wyn up peyne of the same Juyse of pyllory to have as oft as he is lawfully convict or atteynt þer of. And more overe for þaccomplissement of sikerer holdyng and continuaunce of þis ordeynaunce the Maior and Aldermen have ordeynid þat every man of what degre astate or condicioun þ̄ he be þat can aspye or enfourme þe Chamberleyn of þis Citee of eny persone þat in any wise sellith ony romeneyes or eny oþer wynes or hem medlith or colourith in eny wyse ayens þe manere and forme above expressid shal have þe thrid parte of þe fortaiture þerof demyd for his labour.

CHARTER OF 15 HENRY VI., DATED AUGUST 23RD, 1437.

Henry, by the Grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that We of our special grace have granted to the freemen of the mistery of Vintners of the City of London, that the mistery aforesaid, and all men of the same from henceforth may and shall be in deed, and in name, one body, and one perpetual Company, and that the same Company every year shall and may chuse, and make out of themselves, four masters or wardens, to oversee, rule and govern the mistery and commonalty aforesaid, and all men and business of the same for ever, and that the same masters, or wardens, and commonalty shall and may have perpetual succession, and a common seal to serve for the business of the said commonalty, and that they and their successors for ever shall and may be persons able and capable in law to purchase and possess in fee, perpetuity, lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever; and that they the wardens, by the name of the master or wardens of the commonalty and mistery of Vintners aforesaid, shall and may be able to implead and be impleaded before any judges whatsoever in any courts and actions whatsoever. And further, of our more abundant grace, We have granted that the masters, or wardens, and commonalty of the said mistery shall and may be able to purchase lands, tenements,

and rents within the City of London, and suburbs of the same, which are held of us, to the value of twenty pounds a year, to be had and holden to them and their successors for ever, towards the better support as well as of the poor men of the same commonalty, as of one chapel, to celebrate divine service for ever daily, for our state whilst we live, and for our soul when we are departed, and for the souls of all our ancestors, as also for the state and souls of the men of the said mistery and commonalty, and the souls of all the faithful deceased, according to the ordinances of the said masters, or wardens, and commonalty in this behalf to be made. the statute of lands and tenements not to be purchased in mortmain, made, or to be ordained, notwithstanding.

In witness thereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness Ourselves at our Castle of Kenilworth, the twenty-third day of August, in the fifteenth year of our reign.

The above Charter was confirmed in its entirety by letters patent of Henry VII., dated from Westminster, the 24th day of October, in the 24th year of his reign.

STATUTE, 1 HENRY VII., CAP. 8.

For Operations of the Navee.

Item in the sayd parliament it was called to remembraunce of the grete mynysshynge and decaye that hath be now of late tyme of the navye within this reame of Englande, and idlenesse of the maryners within the same, bi the whiche this noble reame within short processe of tyme wythoute reformation be had therein shall not be of habylite and power to deffende it selfe. Wherefore at the prayer of the sayd comyns the kynge our sovereyne lorde by the advyse of the lordes spyrituell and temperell in this sayd present parlamente assembled and by auctorite of the same It is enacted ordeyned and established that noo maner of persone of what degree or condycion that he be of bye nor selle wythin this sayd reame Irlande, Wales, Calays or the marches thereof or Berwyk from the fest of Myghelmas next now comyng any maner wyne of the growynge of the duchie

of Guyen or of Gascoygne but such wyne as shall be aventured and broughte in an englysshe, Irysshe or Wsalshe mannys shyppe or shyppes. And that the maryners of the same englysshe, Irysshe or Walshe men fyne the more parte. Or men of Calays or of the marches of the same, and that upon payne of forfeiture of the same wyne soo broughte or solde contrary to this acte, the one halfe of that forfeiture to be to the Kyng our sovereyn lorde and that other halfe to the fynder of that forfeiture. This acte and ordenaunce to endure bytwin this and the begynnynge of the next parliamēt. Savyng alwaye to the Kyng his prerogative.

ORDYNANCE FOR VINTNERS.

January, 1583 (25 Elizabeth). Letter Book Z, fos. 117-119.

Humbly shew to your good Lordship and Worships the Citizens of London, now using the trade of retailing of wines, as well such as be free of the Company of Vintners as of other Companies. That whereat at the humble suit of the body of this City with the assent and furtherance of the said Company of Vintners. It pleased the Queen's most Excellent Majesty to grant the most gracious letters patent of license bearing date the 13 day of October in 19th year of Her Majesty's reign for all citizens brought upon the said trade, and such other as in the said letters patent are limited to sell wine by retail, as amply as if they were free of the Vintners. And whereas in the said letters patent there is contained a special limitation to what persons the same should extend, and that no one person should by virtue thereof keep any more taverns at once than one, nor should set up in that trade without the allowance of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and also a special commandment to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to see that the number of such taverns do not inordinately exceed and that they be situated only in places convenient, and be chargeable to obey and keep all such good ordinances of the Vintners as your Lordship and Worships shall so make to be generally kept, as by the said letters patent more at large may appear since the day of these letters patent, there has been hitherto no allowance made of any persons according to the said limitations. By reason thereof great multitude do daily set up

taverns not only such as might be or ought to be allowed by the said license, but also forains and strangers and in excessive numbers, in places inconvenient and without being charged to the keeping of goods ordinances, to the great hurt of the commonwealth and of the freedom of the City, and to the danger of their own undoing, and to such manifest disorder and breach of Her Majesty's commandments as may grow to very great peril of bringing the whole license aforesaid in question and of Her Majesty's and her most Honorable Council's indignation and displeasure towards your good Lordship and Worships, which God forbid, for reformation whereof, and to the intend Her Majesty most gracious license aforesaid to the body of this City, may remain in good liking and allowance. It may please your good Lordship and Worships to cause the intent of the said letters patent to be duly executed and that the limitations and commandments therein contained may be set down in the Repertory of your Court to be observed and duly remembered and that the names of such persons as be herewith exhibited with the Citizens lawfully using the said trade, and which have contributed to the City's charge in altering of the said license may also be entered as persons allowed with the several places of their taverns. And that they may be called and commanded to observe the contents of the said letters patent, and of the ordinances and good orders herewith exhibited on pain to be disallowed and that otherwise their allowance shall be void, and that from henceforth none be suffered to keep taverns by virtue of the said license, but such as be licensed by the said letters patent and shall present themselves, before your Lordship and Worships and be entered into the Repertory, and that from time to time the names of all such persons so to be allowed may be sent in writing to the wardens of the Vintners that they may accordingly from time to time see to their good obedience and the correction of such as shall presume to use the trade without the allowance, and that this allowance be always made to extend so far as by the liberties of this City and by virtue of the said letters patent, it may extend and no further, and that before such allowance your Lordship and Worships will first send to the Wardens of the Vintners for the time being, to inform what they can by way of exception to the person so praying to be allowed and further

that it will please your good Lordship and Worships to cause the order herewith exhibited to be set down in the Repertory to the intent that the same may be observed and kept according to the provisions and commandments in Her Majesty's letter patent and your said Orators shall daily pray to God for your Lordship and Worships in prosperous Estate long to continue.

Ordinances for the Wardens to Search.

Inprimis it is ordained and established that the Master and Wardens or their deputies shall have all such searchers as they in times past according to the law and lawful customs of the City of London have had used and made of all them and everyone of them that hereafter shall sell any wines in retail and otherwise within the franchise of the said City of London and in especially such search as hereafter ensueth, whereupon it is further ordained as of ancient customs hath been used, that twelve of the discreet persons of the said fellowship will be yearly sworn before the Mayor and Aldermen of the said City duly and truly to search in the presence of two officers of the said Master all such old wines as have been within the said City and the franchise of the same, and after their power and learning shall duly present all such manner of wines as been good and hable for man's drink, and also to bring in the whole number of every sort of wines as they should find in their search and present the same into the Present Master as well of the good wine as of the wine that be defective. And also to visit and search all manner taverns and houses wherein wine be retailed by the measure of divers pots within the said City and franchises and see that their measures be justly and truly sealed and that every measure that in such taverns and houses of retail is found unsealed to distrain and bear away to the common hall of the said Company. And the moiety of the value thereof to be to the Chamber of the said City and the other moiety to the said Company.

*To Assemble the Company together for abating Prices
of Wines.*

Also it is ordained that the Master and Wardens of the said Company of Vintners of the City of London for the time being

shall have all the Company together use retailing of wines within the City of London or the liberties thereof, once every fortnight or oftener if need be from the going of the Mayor of London to Westminster until Easter if time of need require it, and especially in the meantime that new wine be brought to the said City, whereof the Master and Wardens of the said Company may have knowledge to the intent that by their good reason a politic policy they may drive and make prices reasonable to the most profit to the Queen, our Sovereign Lady and of her subjects; and from Easter unto Michaelmas the said Master, Wardens upon a reasonable warning shall call the Company together to the Hall every month or oftener if need be, and he that maketh default, to pay to the said Company at every time without a reasonable excuse the sum of 13d. It is ordered and appointed that this calling be only for abating the price of wine.

For Forestalling.

Also it is ordained that no manner of person whatsoever he be occupying the said trade of Vintners, and retailing of wines within the said City of London or the franchise thereof, shall go send nor procure no other man to go within any part of the Thames nor within the Queen's streams, there to forestall, mark nor buy any manner of wine in hindering the Queen our Sovereign Lady and her liege people on payne to pay to the use aforesaid for every tun so bought and marked 40s. and so after the rate.

For Potte.

Also for the avoiding of the losses of potte that be lent unto divers persons and for divers other inconveniences that hath grown about the same, it is also ordained that no manner of person or persons that now doth or hereafter shall occupy the said trade of retailing of wines within the said City of London and the franchise thereof shall lend no quart pot, pint, nor half-pint pot, upon pledge nor without pledge, upon pain to forfeit for every such quart, pint, and half-pint so lent, as often as it can be proved to the use aforesaid, 3s. 4d. Nor that no manner of persons as is above said, shall assent, take, nor suffer to be taken ny pot or pots of any other man's instead of his own on pain

to pay to the use of the said Company of Vintners for every pot so taken 3s. 4d. Nor no manner of persons as is above declared shall scrape nor shave any man's mark, or change the lid of his pot or pots upon pain above said, and in manner and form above written.

That no person colour any stranger's goods. Also it is ordained that no manner of persons as aforesaid within the said franchise of London shall buy sell maintain nor receive any wines any strange person foreign by which the Queen may be hurt in her customs, the franchise of the City minished the profit and the weal of the fellowship hindered and impaired upon to pay to the use of the same Company five pounds.

For wines brought to the City to be Cellared and lay three days before they be bought.

It is also ordained that no wine brought into the City of London to be sold shall be bought till the same be discharged and lodged in cellars or cellars within the same City except to the Queen's use or to the Lords of the Council and that by her Butler or provider only, so always that the said Butler or provider shall make no provision to the contrary, but only to the Queen's own use. And every vessel of wine so brought to the said City shall be marked with the gauger's mark before it be sold to the intent every buyer may know he has his full gauge. Nor no wine after it be cellared and gauged be put unto sale nor shown unto no person before it has laid three days in the cellar to the intent that the buyer thereof may have the more exact knowledge of the goodness thereof on the pain of 20s. of every tun to be paid to the said Company of Vintners for every time by him that so buyeth.

That none shall keep any more taverns than one.

Also it is ordained that no person or persons occupying the retailing of wine within the said City of London and the franchise thereof shall from henceforth keep or by any means have or occupy any more taverns than one and that in convenient place upon pain to forfeit to the said Company for man's so doing the contrary, five pounds. Nor that any person or persons, from henceforth shall set up any tavern or cellar to utter wine by retail within any other man's house or cellar, but only in his own mansion and dwelling house upon pain to forfeit to the said Company for every man so doing a hundred shillings.

That none shall take any more apprentices than such as he may honestly guide and set on work in his own service.

Also it is ordained that no person or persons occupying the said trade of Vintners in retailing of wine within the said City of London or the franchise thereof, shall take or receive any apprentice to the said state of Vintners unless he be presented before the Masters and Wardens of the Company of Vintners nor shall keep or receive in his house any more apprentices at once to be learned in the said mistery than such as he may honestly guide and set on work in his own service. Nor shall take or receive any journeyman to be hired by the day, year, or week or otherwise to draw his wine or to take the charge of his wine unless he has been an apprentice to the said trade of Vintners upon pain to forfeit and pay to the use of the said Company of Vintners the sum of a hundred shillings.

This ordinance is expounded by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that an apprentice to the trade of Vintners be understood to be an apprentice to any lawfully using the trade of retailing wine although they be not of the Company.

That no man shall hire out another of his house.

Also that no manner of person of what trade or degree be he occupying the said trade of Vintners and retailing of wine within the franchise of London by himself nor by any other man shall hire nor procure to be hired no man of the same trade or being a brother out of his house that he dwelleth in, upon pain to pay and forfeit to the indweller a hundred shillings and to the use of the same Company a reasonable fine according to the discretion of the Master and Wardens.

For withdrawing of apprentices and servants. Also it is ordained that if any person of what trade so ever occupying the said trade or mistery of Vintners within the said franchise of London, procure, withdraw or cause any man's servants of the said fellowship or any apprentice being within his apprenticeship to withdraw himself out and from the service of his said service or apprenticeship, that then the person so causing the voydance of such servant or apprentice shall pay to the use aforesaid forty shillings.

For Disobedience of Summons.

Also it is ordained that all and every person or persons occupying the said trade of Vintners and retailing of wine within the said City of London, and the franchise thereof and shal obey all manner of summons and warnings at any time to be made by the Committee of the Master and Wardens of the said Company of Vintners for the time being for any manner of cause or matter concerning the weal and worship of the said Company or the good rule and guarding of the said Company. And if any of them be summoned by the Master and Wardens for the time being or any of them or by the Clerk or Beadle of the said Company for to come unto the said Master and Wardens at a certain time by them appointed and cometh after the hour so appointed, without a reasonable excuse unfeigned or untrue, he shall pay for every time so making default twelve pence. And if he absent himself at any such time and come not having no lawful excuse as above said, he shall pay two shillings.

It is expounded by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that this order touching obeying of summons be understood to charge such as be of other Companies to obeying of summons only for matters touching the general weal of the City or the observing of the ordinance here allowed and limited to be generally kept.

That none shall set up before he hath served two years as journeyman.

Also it is ordained that no person or persons that is to occupy retailing of wine within the said City of London or the liberties thereof after he is first made free set up any tavern or retailing of wine to occupy for himself before he hath been two years journeyman without special licence of the Court of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen upon pain of forfeiture of five pounds to the use aforesaid and be put from such occupying for the said year. And thereupon ordered that the same shall be entered into the Repertoire. Persons allowed to retail wines according to the Queen's Majesty's letter patent, thereof granted to the City of London so far as the said letter patent do extend and for the taverns in the place here mentioned.

Drapers.

John Hollyngshead
Thomas Trayford, at the *Horse Head*, by Durham House.

Mercer.

George Lucas, at the *Emperor's Head*, in the Vintry.

Grocers.

Thomas Nokes, at Billingsgate.
Robert Adams, at the *Rose*, in Newgate Market.

Merchant Tailors.

Anthony Radcliff, at the *Ship*, by the Royal Exchange.
Richard Holland, at the *Rose*, without Temple Bar.
William Maior, at the *Queen's Head*, by Leadenhall.
Gregory Shorter, at the *Boll*, at St. Anthony's.
Roger Richardson, at the *Blue Anchor*, at Battle Bridge.
Edward Sagge, at the *Pheasant*, in Wood Street.
Thomas Martin, at the *Red Lion*, in St. Clement's Lane.
Josyas West, in Dystaff Lane.
Anthony Percival, at the *King's Head*, in Westminster.

Haberdashers.

Robert Good, at the *King's Head*, by Powell's Chaine.
Humphrey Daukyn, at the *Bell*, Distaff Lane.
Thomas Langley, at the *Sun*, within Cripplegate.
William Wobbe, at the *Horshead*, in Cheape.

Clothworkers.

John Pyckerynge, at the *Pyckerell*, in Shoreditch.
Richard Athercksych, at the *Snyte*, in Eastcheap.
Bryan Chason, at the *Dolphin*, in Newfish Street.
Richard Olyffe, at the *Princes Arms*, within Ludgate.

Fishmongers.

Robert Chaderton, at the *Eagle*, in Gracechurch Street.
William Clerke, at the *Horsehead*, in Thames Street.
Robert Dodd, at the *White Lion*, within Aldgate.

Chaundeler.

Michael Blaye, at the *King's Head*, in Fish Street.

Dyer.

William Tybalde, at the *Greyhound*, in Leadenhall Street.

Salter.

John Dowell, at the *Greyhound*, in Holborn.

Cook.

Francis Barnard, at the *Horse*, Lombard Street.

Coopers.

Stephen Heath, at the *Horsehead*, in Tower Street.

Thomas Mason, without Bishopsgate.

Girdlers.

Richard Hunt, at the *Bell*, within Holborn.

Thomas Taylor, at the *Ship*, in Old Bailey.

Barber Surgeon.

Widow Whittingham, at the *Harrow*, in Gracechurch Street.

CHARTER, 5TH AND 6TH PHIL. AND MARY, DATED JULY 30TH, 1558.

Philip and Mary, by the Grace of God King and Queen of England, of the Spains, France, and of both the Sicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy, Milan, and Brabant, Counts of Haspurg, Flanders, and Tirol, to all to whom these presents shall come greeting. We have inspected the Letters Patents of confirmation of the Lord Henry the Seventh, late King of England, our most dear grandfather, made in these words : Henry, by the Grace of God King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come greeting. We have inspected the Letters Patents of the Lord Henry the Sixth, late King of England, our most dear uncle, made in these words : Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that we of our special grace have granted to the freemen of the mistery

of Vintners of the City of London, that the mistery aforesaid, and all men of the same from henceforth may, and shall be in deed and in name one body, and one perpetual company, and that the same company every year shall and may chuse and make out of themselves four masters or wardens to oversee, rule, and govern the mistery and commonalty aforesaid, and all men and business of the same for ever, and that the same masters or wardens and commonalty shall, and may have perpetual success, and a common seal to serve for the business of the said commonalty, and that they and their successors for ever shall and may be persons able and capable in law to purchase and possess in fee and perpetuity, lands, tenements, rents, and other possessions whatsoever, and that they, the wardens, by the name of the masters or wardens of the commonalty of the mistery of Vintners aforesaid, shall and may be able to implead and be impleaded before any judges whatsoever in any courts, or actions whatsoever, and further of our more abundant grace, we have granted that the masters or wardens and commonalty of the said mistery shall and may be able to purchase lands, tenements, and rents within the City of London, and suburbs of the same which are held of us to the value of twenty pounds a year, to be had and holden to them and their successors for ever, towards the better support, as well of the poor men of the said commonalty as of one chapel to celebrate divine service for ever daily, for our state whilst we live, and for our soul when we are departed, and for the souls of all our ancestors, as also for the state and souls of the men of the said mistery and commonalty, and the souls of all the faithful deceased, according to the ordinances of the said masters or wardens and commonalty in this behalf to be made the statute of lands and tenements not to be purchased in mortmain made, or to be ordained notwithstanding. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself at our Castle of Kenelworth, the 23rd day of August in the 15th year of our reign. Now we, duly regarding the said Letters Patents, and all and singular the matters therein contained, do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, as much as in us is, accept, approve, and ratify, to our well beloved John Hatfield, John Scrace, William Basse, and John Sandell. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made

patents. Witness ourself at Westminster the second day of October in the twenty-fourth year of our reign. Now we also, duly regarding the said Letters Patents, and all the grants and confirmations aforesaid, and all and singular the matters therein contained, do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen, as much as in us is, accept, approve, and ratify and grant and confirm to our well beloved John Strelley, Alexander Carlell, Thomas Derlove, and Richard Smythe, now masters or warders of the mistery aforesaid, and their successors, to be had and holden to them and their successors for ever. And whereas the freemen of the mistery of Vintners of the City of London aforesaid have now humbly besought us that we would vouchsafe freely and liberally to shew and extend our royal munificence and grace to them, and that we would be pleased, for the rule and better government and support of the same mistery, to make, reduce, and create the same freemen into another body corporate and politic. We therefore at the humble request, as well of the said freemen of the said mistery of Vintners of the City of London, as of the master or wardens and commonalty of the same mistery, of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have willed, ordained, constituted and granted, and by these Presents for us our heirs and successors of the said Queen, do will, ordain, constitute, and grant, and declare that the mistery of Vintners of the City of London aforesaid shall hereafter for ever be and remain a mistery of itself, and that the freemen and commonalty of the mistery aforesaid, are and shall be from henceforth for ever, one body corporate and politic in deed, fact and name, by the name of the master and wardens, and freemen, and commonalty of the mistery of Vintners of London. And we by these Presents, for us, our heirs, and successors of the said Queen, do erect, make, ordain, and establish them, one body corporate and politic for ever really and fully, by the name of the master, wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mistery of Vintners of London. And that by the same name from henceforth for ever they may have perpetual succession, and that they, by the name of the master and wardens and freemen, and commonalty of the mistery of Vintners of London, shall and may for ever hereafter be persons able and capable in law to have, purchase, receive, and possess,

lands, tenements, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, franchises, and hereditaments of what kind, nature, or sort soever they shall be, to them, and their successors in fee and perpetuity, and also to give, grant, demise, and assign the same lands, tenements, and hereditaments as well purchased as to be purchased, and to do and execute all and singular other matters and things to be done by the name aforesaid, and that by the name of the master and wardens, and freemen, and commonalty of the mystery of Vintners of London they shall and may be able to plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, and defend, and be defended in any courts, places, or pleas whatsoever, and before any justices and judges whatsoever, and other officers of us, our heirs or successors of the said Queen, and other persons whatsoever in all and singular actions, suits, complaints, causes, matters and demands whatsoever, of what kind, nature, condition, or sort soever the same be, in manner and form, as our other subjects of this our kingdom of England are able and capable in law to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, and to have purchase, receive, possess, give, grant, and demise, and that the said master, wardens, freemen, and commonalty shall and may have a common seal to serve for the doing of the affairs and business, whatsoever of them and their successors, and that it shall and may be lawful for the said master, wardens, freemen, and commonalty, and their successors from time to time, to break, change, and make new that seal at their pleasure, as they shall see fit. And further, we will, and for us, our heirs and successors, of the said Queen, by these Presents do grant, that from henceforth for ever there shall be only one master of the mystery aforesaid, who has first been warden of the said mystery, and three wardens of the freemen of the mystery aforesaid, to be chosen, appointed, and ordained out of themselves in manner as hereinafter is specified in these our Letters Patents. And for the due execution of this our will and grant in this behalf, we assigned, named, constituted, and made, and for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen, do assign, name, constitute, and make our well beloved John Strelley, now one of the wardens of the mystery aforesaid, to be the first and present master of the said mystery, willing that the said John Strelley shall and may be continued in the office of master of the same mystery, from the

date of these Presents until the Feast of Saint Martin the Bishop, in winter then next ensuing. Also we have assigned, named and constituted, and for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen, by these Presents, do assign, ordain, constitute, and make our well beloved Alexander Carlell, Thomas Derlove, and Richard Smythe, freemen of the mystery aforesaid to be the first and present wardens of the mystery aforesaid, and that they shall be and remain in the office of wardens of the same mystery from the date of these Presents until the said Feast of Saint Martin the Bishop, in winter then next following, and further of our more abundant grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we will and for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen by these Presents, do grant to the said master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mystery of Vintners of London aforesaid and their successors, that they shall and may have, hold, use and enjoy the mystery aforesaid, with all and singular their rights, liberties, and appurtenances, and also the aforesaid customs, liberties, privileges, franchises, immunities, acquittances, exemptions, and jurisdictions above recited or specified, and also all and singular the same and such lands, tenements, hereditaments, customs, liberties, privileges, franchises, immunities, acquittances, exemptions and jurisdictions which the master or wardens and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid or any of them, or any of the freemen of the said mystery by whatsoever name or names, or by whatsoever incorporation or pretence of any corporation they heretofore had held, used, or enjoyed, or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy by reason or pretence of any charters, or Letters Patent, by us, or any of our progenitors of the said Queen of this kingdom of England, in any manner whatsoever heretofore made, granted, or confirmed, or in any other lawful manner, right, custom, use, prescription, or title whatsoever used, had, or accustomed. And we will and by these Presents ordain, and of our more abundant grace for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen, by these Presents do grant to the said master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, and their successors for ever, that it shall and may be lawful to them the said master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty, and their successors, to have, retain, and appoint a certain council house within our City of London, and that the same master

and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, or the major part of them for the time being, so often as they shall see fit and necessary, shall and may call together and hold, within the same house, a certain assembly or meeting of the same master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, or of the major part of them, or the major part of the assistants and elders of the freemen of the said mystery for ever hereafter, and in the same assembly or meeting to treat about, refer, advise, consult, and decree of statutes, laws, articles, and ordinances touching and concerning the mystery aforesaid, and the good rule, state, and government thereof, and of the freemen of the same mystery, and others occupying that mystery according to the good discretions of them or the major part of them assembled for the time being. And further of our abundant grace we will, and for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen by these Presents, do grant to the said master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid and their successors, that the said master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid for the time being or the major part of them met or assembled in the assembly or meeting aforesaid, shall and may by these Presents, have full power, and authority and faculty to frame, constitute, ordain, make, and establish from time to time (until they shall have a mandate or command from us, or heirs or successors of the said Queen to the contrary thereof) such laws, statutes, rights, ordinances, and constitutions, as to them or the major part of them shall seem good, wholesome, profitable, honest, and necessary according to their good discretions for the good rule and government of the master and wardens, and freemen, and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, and of all and singular other the men of the said mystery, and the officers and ministers of the same for the time being, and for the declaration and order of the said master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty, and all and singular other the ministers, officers, artificers, freemen's apprentices, and servants of that mystery, how they demean and behave themselves in their offices, functions, duties, trades, and business touching and concerning the mystery aforesaid, and the freedom thereof, and otherwise for the further good, publick and common profit, and good rule of the mystery aforesaid. And for the better

preservation, government, disposition, letting, and demising of all the lands, tenements, possessions, reversions, and hereditaments to the said master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mistery aforesaid, and their successors, given, granted, or assigned, or hereafter to be given, granted, or assigned, and of other things and causes whatsoever anywise touching or concerning the mistery aforesaid, and the statutes, rights and interest of the same mistery. And that the master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the said mistery for the time being, or the major part of them, as often as such laws, statutes, rights, ordinances, and constitutions shall be made, framed, ordained, or established in form aforesaid, shall and may make, ordain, limit, and provide such pains, punishments, penalties, and imprisonments of body, or by fines and amerciaments, or by either of them, towards and upon all delinquents, against such laws, statutes, rights, ordinances, and constitutions, or any of them, as to the said master and wardens and freemen for the time being, or the major part of them shall be thought requisite and necessary, for the better observing of the said laws, ordinances and constitutions, and shall and may levy and have the same fines and amerciaments without the let of us, our heirs or successors of the said Queen, or any of the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors of the said Queen all and singular, which laws, ordinances, constitutions, rights and statutes, so as aforesaid to be made we will to be observed under the pains therein contained. Nevertheless, so as such laws, ordinances, statutes and constitutions be not repugnant or contrary to the laws nor statutes of our kingdom of England. And further we will and by these Presents for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen, do grant to the said master and wardens and freemen and commonalty of the mistery aforesaid and their successors, that the said master and wardens and freemen and commonalty of the mistery aforesaid for the time being or the major part of them from time to time for ever hereafter shall and may have full power and authority on the Feast of Saint Martin the Bishop, in winter yearly and every year (if they shall see fit) to chuse and name, and they shall and may chuse and name one amongst themselves, who has first been one of the wardens of the mistery foresaid who shall be master of the said mistery and commonalty,

for one whole year or two then next ensuing. And that he, after he shall be chosen and named as aforesaid master of the mistery aforesaid, before he shall be admitted to execute the office aforesaid, shall take his corporal oath, on the same feast day before the last preceding master in the presence of all those other freemen of the mistery aforesaid then present, well and truly to execute that office. And that after such oath shall be so taken he shall and may execute the office of master of the mistery aforesaid for one whole year or two (if it shall seem meet to them) then next following. And moreover, we will and for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen, by these Presents do grant to the masters and wardens and freemen and commonalty of the mistery aforesaid and their successors; that if the said master of the mistery aforesaid shall happen to die, or be removed from his office at any time within one or two years after he shall be admitted and sworn as aforesaid into the office of master of the mistery aforesaid; that then it shall and may be lawful to and for the said wardens and freemen and commonalty of the mistery aforesaid for the time being, or the major part of them, to chuse and admit another of the commonalty aforesaid, to be master of the said mistery, and that he so chosen and admitted shall and may have and exercise that office during the residue of the same year, he first taking his corporal oath in form aforesaid and in like manner as often as the case shall happen. And, moreover, we will, and for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen by these Presents do grant to the said master and wardens and freemen and commonalty of the mistery aforesaid and their successors that the said master, freemen and commonalty of the mistery aforesaid for the time being, or the major part of them, from time to time for ever hereafter shall and may have full power and authority, yearly and every year (if they shall see fit) to chuse and name on the said Feast Day of Saint Martin the Bishop, in the winter yearly and every year (if they shall see fit), to chuse and name, and they shall and may chuse and name one amongst themselves, who has first been one of the wardens of the mistery aforesaid, who shall be master of the said mistery and commonalty for one whole year, or two then next ensuing. And that he, after he shall be chosen and named as aforesaid master of the mistery aforesaid, before he shall be admitted to

execute the office aforesaid, shall take his corporal oath, on the same feast day before the last preceding master, in the presence of all those other freemen of the mystery aforesaid, then present, well and truly to execute that office. And that after such oath shall be so taken, he shall and may execute the office of master of the mystery aforesaid for one whole year or two (if it shall seem meet to them) then next following. And, moreover, we will, and for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen, by these Presents, do grant to the master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid and their successors; but if the said master of the mystery aforesaid shall happen to die, or be removed from his office at any time within one or two years after he shall be admitted and sworn as aforesaid into the office of master of the mystery aforesaid; that then it shall and may be lawful to and for the said wardens and freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid for the time being or the major part of them, to chuse and admit another of the commonalty aforesaid to be master of the said mystery, and that he so chosen and admitted shall and may have and exercise that office during the residue of the same year, he first taking his corporal oath in form aforesaid and in like manner as often as the case shall happen. And, moreover, we will, and for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen by these Presents do grant to the said master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid and their successors, that the said master, freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, or the major part of them, from time to time for ever hereafter, shall and may have full power and authority yearly and every year (if they shall see fit), to chuse and name on the said Feast Day of Saint Martin the Bishop, in the winter, and that they shall and may chuse and name three of the aforesaid freemen to be wardens of the mystery aforesaid for one whole year or two (if it shall seem meet to them), then next ensuing, and these three after they shall be so chosen and named as aforesaid, before they shall be admitted to execute the office of wardens, shall take their corporal oaths on the same Feast Day of Saint Martin aforesaid, in every year (if it shall seem meet to them) before the last preceding master and wardens in the presence of them and all the freemen of the mystery aforesaid for the time being, then and there present

well and truly to execute the office of wardens of the mystery aforesaid, and that after such oath shall be so taken, they shall and may execute the office of wardens of the mystery aforesaid for one whole year then next following, or two (if it shall seem meet to them), and moreover we will, and for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen by these presents do grant to the said master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty, of the mystery aforesaid and their successors, that if the said wardens of the mystery aforesaid, or any or either of them, shall happen to die, or be removed from his office at any time within one or two years after he or they shall be admitted and sworn as aforesaid wardens of the said mystery, that then as so often, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said master, freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, for the time being, or the major part of them, to chuse and admit another or others, out of the number of the said freemen of the mystery aforesaid to be warden or wardens of the said mystery, and that he or they, so chosen and admitted, shall and may have and exercise that office during the residue of the same year, first taking his corporal oath in form aforesaid, and so in like manner, as often as the case may happen. And we being further willing to show our more abundant grace to the said master, wardens, freemen and commonalty towards the pious uses and intents aforesaid, of our certain knowledge and mere notion, have granted and given licence, and for us, our heirs and successors of the said Queen, as much as in us is, by these Presents, do grant and give special licence, faculty, power, and authority, to the said master, wardens, freemen and commonalty of the mystery of Vintners of the City of London aforesaid, and their successors, that they and their successors shall and may at one time or at several times purchase, receive, use and enjoy manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, and other hereditaments and possessions whatsoever to the yearly value of forty pounds, beyond reprisals, although the same, or any part thereof, be held by us, our heirs or successors of the same Queen, or any other persons whomsoever, by whatsoever services, so as the same lands and tenements be not held of us, our heirs or successors of the said Queen in capite, or by knight's service, as well of and from Stephen Mason of Wevering Street in the county of Kent, citizen

and vintner of London, as also of and from any other person or persons whomsoever willing, to give, grant, assign, bequeath, bargain, enfeoff, release, or confirm the same to them, to be had and holden to the said master and wardens and freemen and commonalty of the mystery of Vintners of the City of London aforesaid, and their successors for ever in fee and perpetuity, towards the better support of the poor men and women of the commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, the statute of lands and tenements not to be purchased in mortmain, or any other statute, act, ordinance, provision, or restraint to the contrary thereof, made, published, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding, and this without any writ of *ad quod dampnum*, or any other writ or inquisition to be taken or returned thereupon in our Chancery, or to any of our letters executory, or of our heirs or successors of the said Queen thereupon to be done or prosecuted, and this without any fine or fee, great or small, in any manner to be rendered, paid or made for the same to us, in the hanaper of our Chancery, or elsewhere to our use ; and in like manner we have given licence, and for us, our heirs, and successors of the said Queen, do give special licence to the said Stephen Mason, and to the same person or persons, willing to give, grant, assign, bequeath, bargain, enfeoff, release or confirm such manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services and other hereditaments whatsoever, to the yearly value of forty pounds beyond reprisals, to the said master, wardens, freemen and commonalty of the mystery of Vintners of the City of London aforesaid, that she or he shall and may lawfully and freely give, grant, assign, bequeath, bargain, enfeoff, release or confirm the same manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions and services, and other hereditaments and possessions whatsoever with the appurtenances to the yearly value aforesaid, beyond reprisals, to the said master and wardens and freemen and commonalty of the mystery aforesaid, and their successors as aforesaid, for ever by the tenour of these Presents, the said statute of lands and tenements not to be purchased in mortmain or any other statute, act, ordinance, provision, or restraint to the contrary thereof, made, published, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in anywise notwithstanding ; and this without any writ of *ad quod*

dampnum, or any other writ or inquisition to be taken or returned thereupon in our Chancery, or to any other of our letters executory, or of our heirs, or successors of the said Queen, whatsoever thereupon to be done or prosecuted, and without any fine or fee, great or small in any manner, to be rendered, paid or made for the same to us in our hanaper, or elsewhere to our use, willing that the said master and wardens, or freemen or commonalty of the mystery of Vintners of the City of London, or their successors, or any other person or persons whatsoever be not in any manner howsoever impleaded, hindered, molested, disturbed, vexed, or in anywise aggrieved by reason of the premises, or any of them, by us, our heirs or successors of the said Queen, because express mention of the true yearly value, or of any other value or certainty of the premises, or any of them, or of any gift or grant by us, or by any of our progenitors, or predecessors of the said Queen, to the said master and wardens, and freemen and commonalty of the mystery of Vintners of the City of London aforesaid and their predecessors before this time made, is not at all made in these Presents, or in any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, made, published, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause or matter whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding. In witness thereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourselves at Richmond, the thirtieth day of July in the fifth and sixth years of our reign.

PETITION OF THE MAYOR, ETC., AND BURGESSES OF SOUTHAMPTON,
RECITING A GRANT OF PHILIP AND MARY FOR MONOPOLY OF
SWEET WINES.

In most humble wise shewethe unto yo^r most excellent Maj^{ty}, The Mayor, Baylyefes and Burgesses of yo^r Graces Towne and Porte of Sowthehampton. That where the sayd Towne ys an Auncyent Boroughe and Towne scytuate upon the seasyde over agaynst the coaste of Normandye, and unto w^{ch} Towne all Marchaūt Straūgers of long tyme were accustomed to make theyr comōn accesse and repayre, wth all their shippes and other vessels, laden wth Malmesies and other swete wyne of the growth of Candye and Kotymo, or in any other place wthin the pties of Levant byonde the Straighes of Marrock w^{ch} hath been transported or brought by them into

this Realme, and have dischargd and unladen the sayed wyne at the sayd Towne and Porte of Sowthampton and at none other place wthin thys Realme. By reason whereof and during all w^{ch} tyme The sayd Mayor, Bailiefes and Burgesses and all th'inhabitan^{tes} of the sayd Towne then being were well hable not onely to paye yerely to yo^r most noble progenitors for the tyme being a greate Fee ferme of the said Towne, But also were hable to maintaine, upholde and repaire at their onely costes and charges the Walles, Seabanckes and Diches aboute the same Towne, and to have in a readines for defence against the forreine ennemies greate plenti³ of Armo^r, weapons, Ordinance, shott, powder and other artilarie and thinges nedeful. And oltoughe the said Merchante Strangers were ever well used and intreated at the sayde Towne and porte of Sowthampton, yet nevertheles they of late yeres seeking to lande the said wines at divers other places and creekes wthin this Realme, dyd for the most parte departe from the said porte of Sowthampton, and dayly landed theyr said wines at dyvers other Creekes and places where they might best doo the same without payeing the just Custome and Subsidie due for the sayd wyne. By reason wherof yo^r said subjectes as well for the redresse thereof as also for the relief of the said Towne and porte and th'inhabitan^{tes} of the same, dyd make their complaynte and humble peti^{con} to yo^r Majt^{ies} most deere Syster the late Queene Marie, who graciously hearing and considering their humble peti^{con} and sute for the redresse of all the premisses, dyd by her most gracious L^res Patent^{es} under the Great Seale of Englande grante unto y^{or} sayd Orato^r by the name of the Mayo^r, Bailiefes and Burgesses of the sayd Towne of Sowthampton and to theyr successoures, amongst other thinges, That all manner of Malmesies and other sweete wines growyng in the Islandes of Candye and Kotymo within the pties of Levant beyonde the Sea, or in any other porte of Levante, aforesayde whiche from the feaste of St. John Baptyst nexte following the date of the said l^res patent^{es} shoulde bee transported from the parties beyonde the Sea into this Realme of Englande, shoulde in no parte of the sayde Realme of Englande bee put to land, but onely at the sayd Porte and Towne of Sowthampton.

And further the sayd late Quene Marie by her sayd l^res patent^{es} dyd prohibite every marchant, Denizen and Straunger That they

nor any of them shoulde dischargd the sayd wynes in any other porte or place of this Realme then onely in the said Towne and Porte of Sowthampton upon payne of forfeiture to the said late Quene her heires and successours for every Butt of the said wynes that shoulde bee put on land contrarie to the saide grante Twentye shillings of lafull moneye of England, Over and above the subsidie and custome of the same wynes before that time due and accustomed to be payde. And that one moyetie of the sayd forfeiture should bee unto the sayde late Quene, her heyres and successours, And th'other moyetie therof unto the sayd Mayor, Bailiefes and Burgesses and theyr successours from tyme to tyme when soever the same shoulde happen as by the Letters patentes more playnely yet dothe and maye appeare. And forasmuche as some ambiguities, dowtes and Questions have growen upon the said grante and whether the same bee good in lawe to chardge the sayd Strangers wth such penalties as bee therein conteyned or not. Therefore the said grante made by the said late Quene to the said Mayor, Bailiefes and Burgesses hathe not hitherto taken suche effecte, as by the same was well ment, and Intended, And therefore the sayd Strangers that doo dayly bring the same wines into this Realme verie contemptuouslye and agaynst the purpose and effecte of the said grante doo lande theyr sayd wynes at dyvers Roades and Creekes wthin this Realme, wher they thinck good themselves and for the most parte wher they may best deceyve yo^r highnes of the Custome and subsidie due to bee payde for the same By reason wherof yo^r Majt^e dothe not onely sustayne greate losse and hynderance, But also yo^r sayde Towne and Porte of Sowthampton ys therby like to fall in greate ruine and decaye.

Therefore maye yt please yo^r highnes, wth th'assent and consent of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall and the Comons in this presente Parliament assembled and by auctoritee of the same, that yt maye bee enacted That all wynes called Malmseys and other swete wynes of the growthe of Candye and Kotymo aforesayd in the said parties of Levante beyond the Straighthes of Marrock, or of any other place wthin the parties of Levante aforesaid w^{ch} from the firste daye of August next coming shal bee brought into this Realme by any Marchante Strangers whatsoever shal bee landen and dischargd at the sayd Towne and Porte of Sowthampton and at none other place wthin this

Realme of Englande or Wales upon payne of forfeiture of Twentye shillinges of lafull money of Englande for every Butt of the said wines that shal bee otherwise or at any other place landed wthin this Realme of Englande or Wales. Over and above the Subsydyes and Customes that shal bee due to bee payde for the same and that th'one moyetie of the sayd forfeiture may bee unto yo^r highnes yo^r heires and successoures, and th'other moyetie therof to the sayd Mayor, Baliefes and Burgesses and theyr successoures. And that the same Mayor, Bailiefes, and Burgesses may aske, demande and sue for the same by action of Dett, byll, playnte or Informa^con in any Courte of Recorde, in w^{ch} Sute, no Essoigne protec^con or wager of Lawe shal bee allowed or admitted for the partie defendant.

Provided alwayes, and bee yt further enacted by th'auctoritee aforesayd, That yt shall and maye bee lafull to and for every naturall borne subjecte of this Realme w^{ch} shall transporte or bring in any Englishe Shyppe, Vessell or botome any of the said wyne called Malmeseys or any other Swete wyne of the growthe of Candye or Kotymo aforesayd or of any other place wthin the parties of Levante or from the sayd parties of Levante into this Realme to lande and dischardge the same at any Porte or Haven wthin this Realme at their will and pleasures in suche like maner and fourme as theye shoulde or might have doon yf this acte had never been hadd nor made any thing conteyned in this acte or in the sayd lres patentes to the contrary notwthstanding.

Provided also, and bee yt further enacted by th'auctoritee aforesaid That from the making of this acte yt shall bee lafull for euery Burgesse and Inhabito^r of the sayde Towne of Sowthampton, and also for every Englyshe Merchante dwellyng in any Citie or Towne wythin this Realm of Englande to buy any of the sayd swete wyne at the sayd Towne of Sowthampton at theyr willes and pleasures, and the same to retayle or otherwise to sell againe, any acte or statute heretofore made to the contrarye in any wise notwithstanding.

This acte to continue untill thende of the next Parliament.

Cui quidem petitioni perlecte et ad plenum intellecto, predicta Domina Regina ex auctoritate parlamenti predicti sic Responsum est.

Soit fait come il est Desiré.

Rot. Parl. (Chanc.) 5 Eliz.

APPENDIX C.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF LONDON TAVERNS.

- Angel*, in St. Martin's, A.D. 1582. (Letter Book Z, fo. 267b.)
- Angel*, in Friday Street, A.D. 1404. (Hustings, No. 133, m. 1.)
- Angel*, in Eastcheap, A.D. 1421, 1511. (Hustings, No. 149, m. 29 ; No. 236, m. 56.)
- Aqua Vitæ House*, Barking, A.D. 1572. (Hustings, No. 257, m. 42.)
- Bear*, at London Bridge, A.D. 1463. (History of Signboards, p. 153.)
- Belknappes Inn*, near Old Fish Street, A.D. 1404. (Hustings, No. 132, m. 88.)
- Bell*, in Aldersgate Street, A.D. 1416. (Hustings, No. 144, m. 34.)
- Bell*, in Holborn, A.D. 1579 and 1583. (Letter Book Z, fos. 13b and 119.)
- Bell*, in Distaff Lane, A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)
- Bell*, in Westminster (King Street), A.D. 1466. (History of Signboards, p. 478.)
- Bell*, within Aldgate, A.D. 1581. (Letter Book Z, fo. 185b.)
- Belle Savage*, in Fleet Street. (History of Signboards, p. 481.)
- Bishop's Head*, in Westminster, A.D. 1580 and 1582. (Letter Book Z, fos. 109 and 268.)
- Blossoms Inn*, in St. Lawrence, Jewry, A.D. 1374, 1375, 1392, 1401, etc. (Hustings, No. 102, m. 120 ; No. 103, m. 37 ; No. 121, m. 97 ; No. 102, m. 120 ; No. 129, m. 111.)
- Blue Anchor*, in Southwark, A.D. 1581. (Letter Book Z, fo. 185b.)
- Blue Anchor*, Battle Bridge, A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)
- Bosom's Inn*, St. Lawrence, Cheapside, A.D. 1522. (History of Signboards, p. 297.)
- Bull*, in Cornhill, A.D. 1573. (Letter Book X, fo. 258.)

Bull, in Distaff Lane, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.)

Bull's Head, in Cornhill, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.)

Bull's Head, in Cheapside, A.D. 1517. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.)

Bull's Head, at St. Martin's Gate, A.D. 1563. (Hustings, No. 252, m. 49.)

Cardinal's Hat, in Lombard Street, A.D. 1581. (Letter Book Z, fo. 185.)

Cardinal's Hat, in the Strand, A.D. 1580 and 1582. (Letter Book Z, fos. 109, 109b, 267b, and 268.)

Cardinal's Hat without Newgate, A.D. 1517. (Letter Book N, fo. 56.)

Castel, Cornhill, A.D. 1581. (Letter Book Z, fo. 185.)

Castel, Smithfield East, A.D. 1580. (Letter Book Z, fo. 109.)

Castel, Westminster, A.D. 1579. (Letter Book Z, fo. 13b.)

Cross Keys, in Aldgate, A.D. 1561. (Hustings, No. 251, m. 108.)

Crown, in Cheapside, A.D. 1467. (History of Signboards, p. 101.)

Dolphin, New Fish Street, A.D. 1581 and 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

Dolphin, Houndsditch. (History of Signboards, p. 227.)

Emperor's Head in the Vintry, A.D. 1422. (Hustings, No. 151, m. 24, 26) ; A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

Goat, in Cheapside, A.D. 1517. (Letter Book N, fo. 56.)

Greyhound, Holborn, A.D. 1580 and 1583. (Letter Book Z, fos. 109, 109b and 119.)

Greyhound, by Leadenhall Street, A.D. 1568 and 1582. (Letter Book Z, fos. 109, 109b, and 185 ; V, fo. 206.)

Harrow, A.D. 1577 and 1583. (Letter Book Y, fo. 191b ; Z, fo. 119.)

Hart, by London Bridge, A.D. 1580. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

Hart, in the parish of St. Mary Colechurch, A.D. 1375, 1382, 1397, etc. (Hustings, No. 103, m. 258 ; No. 111, m. 103 ; No. 125, m. 101 ; No. 131, m. 21 ; etc.)

Hart's Horn, Strand, A.D. 1580. (Letter Book Z, fo. 109.)

Holteler Tavern, in St. Margaret Bridge Street, A.D. 1369. (Hustings, No. 98, m. 51; No. 99, m. 113.)

Horn on the Hop, in the parish of St. Vedart, Westchepe, A.D. 1379. (Hustings, No. 108, m. 79.)

Horns, Fleet Street, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.) A.D. 1557. (History of Signboards, p. 166.)

Horse's Head, by Durham House, A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

Horse's Head, Cheapside, A.D. 1577-78-83. (Letter Books Y, fos. 171b and 282; Z, fo. 119.)

Horse's Head, Lombard Street, A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

Horse's Head, Tower Street, A.D. 1579 and 1583. (Letter Book Z, fos. 13b, and 119.)

Horse's Head, Thames Street, A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

King's Head, Fish Street, A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

King's Head, Aldgate, A.D. 1581. (Letter Book Z, fo. 185.)

King's Head, Fenchurch Street, A.D. 1558. (History of Signboards, p. 303.)

King's Head, Holborn, A.D. 1582. (Letter Book Z, fo. 267b.)

King's Head, Paul's Chain, A.D. 1573. (Letter Book X, fo. 258); A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

King's Head, at St. Mary at Hill, A.D. 1566. (Hustings, No. 255, m. 7.)

King's Head, Fleet Street, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.)

King's Head, Temple Bar, A.D. 1575. (Letter Book Y, fo. 115.)

King's Head, Westminster, A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

King's Head and Castle, New Fish Street, A.D. 1588. (Letter Book V, fo. 206.)

Lamb, Holborn Conduit, A.D. 1580 and 1582. (Letter Book Z, fos. 109 and 268.)

Mackworth Inn, in Holborn, A.D. 1452. (Hustings, No. 181, m. 8 and 9.)

Maiden Head, Steel Yard, A.D. 1573. (Letter Book X, fo. 258.)

Martin, Fenchurch Street, A.D. 1528. (Letter Book O, fo. 126.)

Mermaid, Aldersgate, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.)

Mermaid, Little Wood Street, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 281b.)

Mermaid, Bread Street, A.D. 1568. (Letter Book V, fo. 126.)
A.D. 1464 and 1603. (History of Signboards, p. 226.)

Mitre, in the parish of St. Nicholas Olave, A.D. 1572. (Hustings, No. 258, m. 24.)

Mitre, Cheapside, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.)
A.D. 1475. (History of Signboards, p. 317.)

Pheasant, Wood Street, A.D. 1580 and 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 109 and 119.)

Pole's Head, Paul's Chain, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.)

Pope's Head, Lombard Street, A.D. 1528. (Letter Book O, fo. 126.)

Pope's Head, Cornhill, A.D. 1464. (History of Signboards, p. 313.)

Pyckerell, Shoreditch, A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

Queen's Head, in Paternoster Row (History of Signboards, p. 310.)

Queen's Head, in Cornhill, A.D. 1573. (Letter Book X., fo. 258.)

Queen's Head, at Charing Cross, A.D. 1580. (Letter Book Z, fo. 109.)

Queen's Head, in Leadenhall, A.D. 1581 and 1583. (Letter Book Z, fos. 119 and 185.)

Queen's Head, in St. Martin's, A.D. 1568. (Letter Book V, fo. 206.)

Ram, in Fleet Street, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.)

Red Cross, in Red Cross Street, A.D. 1575. (Letter Book Y, fo. 115.)

Red Lion, in St. Clement's Lane, A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

Rose, at Barking, A.D. 1554 and 1578. (Letter Book S, fo. 8; Y, fo. 285b.)

Rose, at Newgate, A.D. 1575 and 1583. (Letter Book Y, fo. 115; Z, fo. 119.)

Rose, by Fleet Bridge, A.D. 1573, 1575, 1578. (Letter Book X, fo. 258; Y, fos. 115 and 282.)

Rose, without Temple Bar, A.D. 1583. (Letter Book Z, fo. 119.)

St. John's Head, in Gracechurch Street, A.D. 1581. (Letter Book Z, fo. 185.)

Salutation, in Billingsgate, A.D. 1573, 1578. (Letter Book X, fo. 258 ; Y, fo. 282.)

Salutation, in Thames Street, A.D. 1579. (Letter Book Z, fo. 13b.)

Ship, in Tower Street, A.D. 1581. (Letter Book Z, fo. 185b.)

Ship, at the Old Bailey, A.D. 1575, 1583. (Letter Book Y, fo. 115 ; Z, fo. 119.)

Ship, by the Exchange, A.D. 1573, 1581. (Letter Book X, fo. 258 ; Z, fo. 185.)

Spread Eagle, in Gracechurch Street, A.D. 1581, 1583. (Letter Book Z, fos. 119 and 185.)

Star, in Cheapside, A.D. 1517. (Letter Book N, fo. 56.)

Star, in Chancery Lane, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.)

Star, in Fenchurch Street, A.D. 1577. (Letter Book Y, fo. 191b.)

Sun, in Gracechurch Street, A.D. 1577. (Letter Book Y, fo. 191b.)

Sun, in Cripplegate, A.D. 1568, 1573, 1575, 1578, 1583. (Letter Book V, fo. 206 ; X, fo. 258 ; Y, fos. 115, 282 ; Z, fo. 119.)

Swan, in Dowgate, A.D. 1578. (Letter Book Y, fo. 282.)

Swan, in Old Fish Street, A.D. 1589. (Hustings, No. 270, m. 12.)

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